

M E M O I R S
O F
MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,
D U K E O F S U L L Y,
P R I M E M I N I S T E R T O
H E N R Y T H E G R E A T.

C O N T A I N I N G

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,
and his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH, by the Author of the
FEMALE QUIXOTE.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of
HENRY THE GREAT.

I N F I V E V O L U M E S.

A N E W E D I T I O N.

V O L. V.

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MEMOIR

MAXIMILIAN DE BELLE

DUKE OF BELLE

PRIME MINISTER

HENRY



Transcribed from the French

THE TRIAL OF BELLE

IN FIVE VOLUMES

A NEW EDITION

VOLUME

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A
S U M M A R Y

OF THE

Books contained in the FIFTH VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the TWENTY-
EIGHTH BOOK.

CONTINUATION of the memoirs of the year 1610. Remarks upon the assassination of Henry IV. a description of his person: particulars relating to his life; his character; his good and bad qualities. The situation in which his death left the duke of Sully: his reasons for suspecting the new council: he shuts himself up in the Bastile; but afterwards goes to the Louvre: the gracious reception given him by the queen: he assists at the ceremony of the bed of justice. Mary de Medicis settles a public and private council, in which the policy and maxims of government are entirely changed: Sully complains of these proceedings: he is not regarded. The count of Soissons returns to court: quarrels between him and Sully. Councils held concerning the armament set on foot by Henry, concerning the duke of Savoy, &c. in which Sully makes fruitless representations against their proceeding: he resolves to resign his employments, and to retire from court; his family oppose this design: he sends Arnaud to Conchini, who receives with haughtiness his advances: he unites with the prince of Condé: the

VOL. V. A wife

wise advice he gives him ; notwithstanding which, this prince joins his enemies. Other plots of the court ; and Sully's disputes with the ministers and courtiers. A farther account of the affair of Cleves, and its conclusion.

SUMMARY of the TWENTY-NINTH BOOK.

CONTINUATION of the memoirs of 1610, 1611. The reasons why the princes, grandees, and ministers, hated Sully : he opposes the unjust proceedings of the council : refuses to sign a comp-tant at the queen's request. Quarrels in full council with the duke of Bouillon. Disputes in the court and council. Coronation of Lewis XIII. Sully goes to Montrond, and is taken ill there : reasons for the queen regent and the ministers recalling him : the reception given him by this princess, who afterwards takes part with Conchini and the ministers against him. His resolution in opposing the unjust demands of the grandees, and the dissipation of the royal treasures : the uneasiness he suffers on this occasion. He quarrels with Ville-roi and D'Alincourt in full council. The princes, lords, and ministers, enter into a confederacy against him. He takes a resolution to retire for ever from court : different opinions concerning his retreat. Sully resigns the superintendence of the finances, the government of the Bastile, &c. The prudent advice which he gives his secretaries : their obligations to him. He prevents the artifices of his enemies to ruin him : his letters to the queen regent for this purpose, in which he justifies his conduct, and his administration : the queen's answers. The king encreases his pension. He gives a general account of his public and private conduct ; of his wealth ; and of his domestic affairs : his faithful performance of the promises he made to Henry IV.

S U M M A R Y.

v

SUMMARY of the THIRTIETH BOOK.

DISCUSSION of the political scheme, commonly called the Great Design of Henry IV. Preliminary considerations upon the Roman empire, upon the establishment of the French monarchy, upon the different governments of the three races of our kings, &c. The possibility of the great design proved: Henry with difficulty makes Sully approve of it: in what manner Elizabeth and this prince formed it. Favourable and unfavourable events. The advantage of this scheme to all Europe. That part of the political scheme which regards religion, consisting in peaceably maintaining the religions received in Europe, and in driving the infidels from them. The political part, which consists in establishing fifteen equal monarchies; in reducing the power of the house of Austria; and dividing what it was deprived of among the princes and republics of Europe. Means of indemnifying himself, and of proving the equity of his proceedings. The moderation and disinterestedness of France in this division. Establishment of a general council of the christian republics. Negotiations and other means employed to induce the princes and states of Europe to engage in the great design. Account of the forces, and the expences necessary for the execution of it. The march and disposition of the armies of the confederate princes: the probable result of it.

SUPPLEMENT to the LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY, after his RETREAT.

CONDUCT of the duke of Sully in the assembly of the protestants at Châtelleraut; and of this assembly with regard to the personal affairs of Sully: the part he has in the duke of Rohan's disputes

disputes with the queen regent on account of St. John d'Angely. The queen regent's reliance upon him; and the letters which she writes to him during the rebellion of the princes and the protestants. Councils which he gives her; and the services he performs on this occasion. He is made marshal of France. His discontent with his son and grandson. State of his family; and the disposition which he makes of his estates among his children. His death. Honours paid him by the duchess of Sully. His tomb and epitaph. An account of his domestic conduct, and of his private life. Occupations of the duchess his wife. The duke of Sully's sentiments upon religion. His public and private buildings.

20 AU 66

MEMOIRS
DUKE OF SULLY, after his RETIREMENT to the LIFE of the

CONDUCT of the duke of Sully in the affairs of the protestants at Chastellain; and of this assembly with regard to the persons of Rohan & Sully: the part he has in the duke of Rohan's disputes.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXVIII.

THE reader must not expect to see in these Memoirs a particular relation of that execrable crime: my grief is renewed by the sad remembrance, nor shall I cease to lament it but when I cease to live. It is with astonishment that I behold persons capable of hearing and speaking with coldness and insensibility of the greatest misfortune which ever beset this kingdom; in me the thoughts of it is attended with such horror, that I turn my eyes as much as possible from that deplorable object, and my tongue refuses to pronounce the name of the abominable monster*, who was the cause of all our miseries; while inwardly I im-

1610.

* Francis Ravailiac was born at Angoulême, where he followed the profession of a schoolmaster, and was at that time between thirty-one and thirty-two years old. Matthieu thinks he was mad; but I can find nothing in his discourse, either during his imprisonment, or at the time of his execution, that affords any reason to charge him with madness, taking that word in its most usual sense, but only with fool-hardiness, fury, and a disordered mind. He was brought, on

Thursday the 27th of May, before the church of Notre-Dame, where he performed the *amende honorable*; from thence he was carried to the Grève, and there his breast, arms, thighs, &c. were torn with red hot pincers, &c. he holding the knife in his right hand; after that, melted lead, and boiling oil and pitch, were poured on his wounds; and at last he was torn to pieces by four horses; his members were burned, and his ashes thrown into the air. The furious crowd were every mo-

VOL. V.

B

plore

1610. { plore the divine vengeance against him, and against those that armed his impious hand; the public outcry directs us to the authors of this detestable plot; nor can I hinder myself from exclaiming, with all the world, against a circumstance of which no one is ignorant. After the parricide had perpetrated his horrid design, he was guarded with so little care in the house* to which he was first carried, that during four hours all sorts of persons were permitted to see him and talk to him; and certain persons, whom it is not necessary to name here, made such an imprudent use of this liberty, that they were heard to call him *Friend*, and bid him, I repeat their own words, *take care that he did not accuse good men who were innocent, and good catholics*, because that would be an unpardonable crime, and worthy of eternal damnation. Some persons, truly scandalized at what they saw, loudly exclaimed against such negligence; which obliged them afterwards to guard the murderer with more care.

However that may be, such was the tragical end of a prince, on whom nature, with a lavish profusion, had bestowed all her advantages, except that of a death such as he merited. I have already observed, that his stature was so happy, and his limbs formed with such proportion, as constitutes not only what is called a well-made man, but indicates

ment ready to rush upon him and tear him to pieces, and refused to sing the *salve*. He was somewhat tall and bulky, and of so robust a make, that the horses could not tear him to pieces, but the executioner was obliged to cut him into quarters, which the populace dragged about the city, &c. See the historians quoted above. Pasquier says he was related, on the mother's side, to Poltrot, who assassinated the duke of Guise; *ibid.* p. 32. I do not find there is any appearance of truth in what Guy-Patin relates,

letter 122. that Ravaillac had a brother who died in Holland, and who, on his death-bed, declared, that if his brother had miscarried in his attempt, he himself would have undertaken the same thing, to revenge, as he said, the injury Henry IV. had done them in debauching their sister, and neglecting her afterwards.

* In the hôtel of Retz. L'Etoile says he was carried the next day from the hôtel of Epemon to the Conciergerie.

strength,

strength, vigour, and activity*; his complexion was animated; all the lineaments of his face had that agreeable liveliness † which forms a sweet and happy physiognomy, and perfectly suited to that engaging easiness of manners which, though sometimes mixed with majesty, never lost the graceful affability and easy gaiety ‡ so natural to that great

* "Henry IV. says Le-Grain, "was of a middling stature, rather tall than low; his forehead was broad, his nose aquiline and royal, his mouth well made; and his lips red," &c. Decade de Henry le Grand, book i. Morizot, being worse informed, says, on the contrary, that he was low, and of square make; and asserts, that he dressed himself nearly in the same manner in winter as in summer, chap. 49.

† D'Aubigné informs us, that he had an extreme piercing sight, and (to make use of his own words) a monstrous quick hearing; of which he gives this convincing proof: "The king, says he, being in bed at La-Garnache, in a large state chamber; and his bed, besides the curtains, being surrounded with a thick fringe; Frontenac and I laid in the opposite corner of the room, in a bed furnished in the same manner; and joking about the king, I having my lips close to his ear, and lowering my voice as much as possible, he often asked, What dost thou say? The king answered, Deaf as you are, can't you hear he says; I want to make two friends by doing one good office? We got off by desiring him to go to sleep, for we had still a great deal more to say of him." Vol. III. chap. xxi. The answer which the duke of Bellegarde made to this prince, is much of the same kind with this; when both of them lying in the same room, shortly after the death of Henry III. Henry IV. waked Bellegarde three or four times in

the night, to persuade him to give up some of the posts he enjoyed, in favour of some persons the king named to him: "I will with all my heart, sire," says the master of the horse at last; "but, for God's sake, don't wake any more." This taste for raillery and joking, as is always the case on such occasions, from the prince's example, passed to his courtiers; and Sully, with some appearance of reason, blames Henry IV. on this account, condemning it as a fault in a king; raillery never failing to create quarrels amongst the great, and always diminishing the reverence due to the prince: he produces many examples of this. Mem. recend. vol. I. p. 360.

‡ The history of Henry IV. furnishes innumerable instances of his turn for pleasantry, and of his affable and popular manner of address; which perhaps contributed more than his great qualities to procure him the love of the people. "The king," say the Mem. for the hist. of France; vol. II. p. 277. "going one day to the Louvre, and meeting a poor woman driving a cow, he stopt her, and asked the price of the cow: the woman having told him the price, *Ventre saint gris!* says the king, she is not worth that;—I will give you so much. I see, replied the woman, you are not a dealer in cows. What makes you think so? says the king, who had many noblemen with him; Don't you see all these calves are following me?" His gardener at Fontainebleau once complaining to him, that he could

1610. prince. With regard to the qualities of his heart and mind, I shall tell the reader nothing new, by saying that he was candid, sincere, grateful, compassionate, generous *, wise, penetrating; in a word, endowed with all those great and amiable qualities which in these Memoirs he has so often had occasion of admiring in him.

not make any thing grow in that soil: "Friend," says Henry, looking at the duke of Epemon, "sow it with Gascoons, they will thrive any where." A man who was an extraordinary great eater being shewn him, he said, "*Ventre-saint-gris!* if I had six men like thee in my kingdom I should hang them all; such rascals would soon create a famine." It is also related of him, that having one day boasted to the Spanish ambassador, that he would go to breakfast at Milan, hear Mass at Rome, and dine at Naples; that ambassador answered, "Sire, if your majesty goes so fast, perhaps you may go to vespers in Sicily." He was never displeased at any repartees that were made to him of this kind. Matthieu says, not one of his court was able to tell a story so agreeable as he.

* "As to his enemies, he always spoke of them with respect, even when he was very young, how much soever he was offended with them: he never named any one of his enemies without giving him the title of Monsieur." Le-Grain's Decade, b. viii. "All the forests in my kingdom would not be sufficient, said he, to furnish timber for gallows, if all those who have wrote or preached against me were to be hanged." When he had been prevailed on to read some libels on the late queen, his mother, he shrugged up his shoulders, saying, "O, the wretch! but he returned to France under protection of my passport; and I will not have any harm done to him." Merc. Franç. ann. 1610.

pa. 418. He shewed not the same indulgence where offence was given to other persons as in his own case. "On Twelfth-day, as the king was going to receive the communion, M. de Roquelaure, judging this the fittest opportunity to apply for the pardon he was desirous to obtain for Saint-Chamand (Francis d'Hautesfort) his cousin, who had caused the lieutenant-general de Tulle (Peter de Fenis, sieur du Teil) to be whipped, without any reason, and for which his majesty had ordered him to be exemplarily punished, came to the king, and besought him to pardon Saint-Chamand, for the love of that God he was going to receive, and who would only forgive those who had forgave those that had offended them: whom the king answered, fixing his eyes on him, Be gone, and let me alone; I am surpris'd you dare make this request to me, when I am going to declare to God, my resolution to do justice, and to ask his pardon for not having done it." Mem. pour l'hist. de France, vol. II. p. 262. He replied to M. le Grand, who importuned him in favour of the son of the count de La-Martiniere, who was condemned to suffer death for having killed his sister; "That after he was executed he would grant him his ashes: to another nobleman he said, If he had been the father of that wretch he would not have interceded for him. He made a merry, though a christian, reply to another: "*Ventre-saint-gris!* said he to him,

He

He loved all his subjects as a father, and the whole state as the head of a family: and this disposition it was, that recalled him even from the midst of his pleasures, to the care of rendering his people happy, and his kingdom flourishing: hence proceeded his readiness in conceiving, and his industry in perfecting, a great number of useful regulations; many I have already specified: and I shall sum up all, by saying, that there were no conditions, employments, or professions, to which his reflections did not extend; and that with such clearness and penetration, that the changes he projected could not be overthrown by the death of their author, as it but too often happened in this monarchy. It was his desire, he said, that glory might influence his last years, and make them, at once, useful to the world, and acceptable to God: his was a mind, in which the ideas of what is great, uncommon, and beautiful, seemed to rise of themselves: hence it was, that he looked upon adversity as a mere transitory evil, and prosperity as his natural state. He had drained fens, in order to a greater work than any he had yet undertaken, which was, to make, by canals, a communication from sea to sea, and from river to river: he wanted only time to complete this noble project.

He often said, that there were ten things which he intreated God to grant him, from whence arose that saying, *The ten wishes of Henry IV.* He had not the good fortune to obtain them all: they were as follows. 1. Grace, and spiritual blessings. 2. To preserve till death the use of all the faculties of his mind and body. 3. To see the religion he had formerly professed in a fixed and peaceful situation. 4. To be delivered from his wife (it is the first he here means) and to find one whose temper suited

“scratching his head, I have sins enough on my head already, without adding this to them.” L’Etoile, part ii. p. 115. Some-
body wanting to persuade him to
punish the author of the *Isle des Hermaphrodites*, “It would offend my conscience, says he, to give any man trouble for only speaking the truth.”

1610. with his own, that would bring him princes whom he might live to form and educate himself. 5. To restore France to its ancient splendor. 6. To gain from Spain, by conquest, either Navarre, or Flanders and Artois. 7. To gain a battle in person against the king of Spain, and another against the Grand Seignior; a piece of good fortune for which he greatly envied Don John of Austria. 8. To bring back to its duty, without being obliged to have recourse to violent measures, the huguenot faction, headed by the dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, &c. And on this subject he added a 9th, To see those two men, and the duke of Epemon, reduced to implore his clemency. It was a long time before he would declare the 10th, which regarded the accomplishment of his great designs: and as in those designs he had two principal objects in view, it was necessary to divide this wish into two; and first, with regard to religion, he was desirous of reducing that prodigious number of religions with which all Europe was filled and divided, to three principal ones at least, since it was not possible to re-unite them all under one sole faith: the other was wholly political, and related to the number, the territory, and equality, of the European powers, of whom he designed to compose that kind of great republic upon the plan I shall give the reader presently.

I should destroy all I have now said of this great prince, if, after having praised him for an infinite number of qualities well worthy to be praised, I did not acknowledge that they were ballanced by faults, and those indeed very great. I have not concealed, or even palliated his passion for women; his excess in gaming; his gentleness often carried to weakness; nor his propensity to every kind of pleasure: I have neither disguised the faults they made him commit, the foolish expences they led him into, nor the time they made him waste: but I have likewise observed, to do justice on both sides, that his enemies have greatly

greatly exaggerated all these errors. If he was, as they say, a slave to women, yet they never regulated his choice of ministers, decided the destinies of his servants, or influenced the deliberations of his council. As much may be said in extenuation of all his other faults. And to sum up all, in a word, what he has done is sufficient to shew, that the good and bad in his character had no proportion to each other; and that since honour and fame have always had power enough to tear him from pleasure, we ought to acknowledge them to be his great and real passions.

I have a letter by me, which he made Lotménie write for him, because he had, as he said, a slight hurt in his thumb; it is dated from Chantilly, April 8, but without date of the year. I believe the reader will not be displeased to hear him speak himself upon this subject. At the beginning of the letter he tells me, that his reason for entering upon it with me, was the public discourse concerning him; for he used to divert himself with hearing all that was said of him, from Roquelaure, Frontenac, Le-Riviere, Du-Laurens, d'Aurambure, Morlas, Salette, La-Varenne, Bonniers, Du-John, Béringhen, L'Oserai, Armagnac, Jacquinot, Perrotton, and some others with whom he conversed familiarly, and who often acquitted themselves very faithfully of the order he gave them, to conceal from him nothing that was said to his disadvantage.

He began with telling me, that his enemies accused him with having neglected and despised (those are his words) the greatest and most deserving men in the kingdom; and consuming, in vain and useless expences, that money which they alledged would be better employed in gratuities to them*. "Some,

* "They say I am niggardly, " on him as a covetous man, but
 " says he; but I do three things " they could be only those who
 " very inconsistent with a covetous " did not know the great necessities
 " disposition; for I make war, I " ties he had to struggle with;
 " make love, and I build." Le- " which were even so great, that
 Grain, book viii. " Some looked " during the siege of Dieppe, he

1610. " pursued he, blame me for being too fond of
 " buildings and great works; others, for liking
 " hunting, dogs, and birds; one says, that I have
 " a passion for cards, dice, and other kinds of
 " gaming; another condemns me for my attach-
 " ment to women, to the pleasures of the table, to
 " assemblies, plays, balls, running at the ring,
 " and other amusements of that kind*; where,
 " say they, I appear as gay and lively, with my
 " grey beard, and am as proud of having gained
 " the goal, and received a ring from some fair lady,
 " as I could have been in my youth, or as the
 " vainest young fellow of the court. I do not
 " deny (adds he) but there is some truth in all this;
 " but if I am guilty of no excesses in these plea-
 " sures, my conduct deserves more praise than
 " blame; and indeed some little indulgences I
 " ought to have, in amusements which bring no
 " inconvenience upon my people, in consideration
 " of the labours I have endured from my infancy
 " to fifty years old. I have heard you say, when
 " any one censured your actions, that we are not
 " commanded by scripture to have absolutely no
 " sins and errors, because there are some infirmities
 " inseparable from humanity; but only not to suffer
 " them to enslave us and controul our wills: and
 " this has been my endeavour, since I could not
 " do better †. You know that on many occasions

" could truly say, He was a king
 " without a kingdom, a husband
 " without a wife, and that he made
 " war without money." Merc.
 Franc. ann. 1610. p. 485.

* " At feasts he was lively; at
 " tournaments as expert as any
 " one; he was gay over a bottle,
 " tho' naturally grave; his spright-
 " liness, and the smartness of his
 " repartees, furnished the most
 " pleasing part of the feast: he
 " discovered as much address and
 " courage at tilts, running at the
 " ring, and in all other gentleman-
 " like exercises, as any one of the

" young nobility: he even took
 " delight in balls, and sometimes
 " danced, though, to speak the
 " truth, with more spirit than
 " gracefulness." Perefixe, p. 380.

† " I every day, said this prince,
 " pray to God for three things;
 " first, that he would be pleased
 " to pardon my enemies; secondly,
 " to grant me the victory over my
 " passions, and especially sensu-
 " ality; thirdly, that I may make
 " a right use of the authority he
 " has given me, and never abuse
 " it. I would willingly do as
 " they say," added he, speaking

" wherein

“ wherein my mistresses have been concerned (and 1610,
 “ my passion for women is, of all others, said to
 “ have the most empire over me) I have supported
 “ you against them, and have gone so far as to tell
 “ them, that I would rather lose ten such mistresses
 “ as they, than one such servant as you : and this,
 “ I assure you, you shall hear me say again, if ne-
 “ cessary ; for when an opportunity offers for exe-
 “ cuting those glorious designs which you know
 “ I have long formed, you shall find that I can
 “ quit my mistresses, dogs, horses, gaming, build-
 “ ings, and entertainments, to acquire honour and
 “ fame ; for I hold it to be my principal duty, next
 “ to those I have to God, my wife, my children,
 “ my faithful servants and my people, whom I love
 “ as my children *, to make myself be esteemed as
 “ a prince who is religiously faithful to his word.”
 &c.

But it is now time to resume the disagreeable re-
 cital of what happened after the death of this good
 prince : however painful that recital may appear to
 me, these Memoirs ought not to conclude till that
 period, when I ceased to have a share in the affairs
 of the government.

Amidst the first transports of my grief at the
 news of my dear master's death, I fancied, that
 though mortally wounded, some little remains of
 life might still be left him ; and my mind eagerly
 welcoming this faint ray of hope and consolation,
 “ Give me my cloaths and boots, said I to those
 “ that were about me, and saddle some of my best
 “ horses, for I will not use a coach, and let all my
 “ gentlemen hold themselves in readiness to ac-
 “ company me.” I had then only a few of my
 servants with me ; for all the others, believing that

of the remonstrances sometimes “ two feet, said this good prince ;
 made to him by the bishops and “ in what respect then do I differ
 other ecclesiastics, “ but they do “ from my subjects, but that I am
 “ not think I know what they “ invested with the power of ex-
 “ do.” Matthieu, vol. II. p. 838. “ ecuting justice ?”

* “ I have only two eyes and

I was

1610. I was too much indisposed to go out, or even to be dressed, had dispersed several ways; but the report of the king's being wounded, which was soon spread over all quarters of the city, had brought them all together again before I had mounted my horse, and with them so many other persons, who were particularly attached to me, that I had scarcely reached the house of Beaumarchais, when I had above an hundred horse in my train; which in a few moments, more, was increased to an hundred and fifty; for as I advanced, I met several of the king's faithful servants, who were coming to my house, to ask my advice concerning what measures they should take in this most miserable conjuncture. The universal grief* and consternation which I now beheld, was a proof how tenderly this good prince was beloved in his capital. Nothing could be more affecting than the different ways by which the citizens and populace of this great city expressed their affection and their sorrow: groans, tears, loud cries

* The description Pélissier gives of it, p. 415. is quite affecting: "When the report of this tragical accident had been spread all over Paris, and it was certainly known that the king, who at first was thought to be only wounded, was actually dead, that mixture of hope and fear, which till then had kept this great city in suspense, at once burst forth in loud cries and violent groans; some became motionless and insensible, thro' grief; others ran about the streets, quite frantic: many embraced their friends without saying any thing to them, but, *Alas! what a misfortune!* some shut themselves up in their houses; others threw themselves on the ground; one might see women with their hair dishevelled, crying and lamenting; fathers said to their children, What will become of you? you have lost your father. Those who had greater apprehensions

for the future, and who remembered the horrible calamities of the late civil wars, deplored the misfortunes of France, and said, that the fatal stroke which had pierced the heart of the king, at the same time gave a deadly wound to every Frenchman. It was said, many were so strongly affected by this event, that they died on the spot, others in a few days afterwards. In short, it was not the appearance of a mourning for one single man, but as if the half of all mankind were dead. One would have thought every one had lost all his family, possessions and hopes, by the death of this great king. All kings and princes, adds the historian Matthieu, lamented his death. The king of Spain, compelled by truth and grief, declared, that the greatest commander on earth was dead.—The Venetians said, Our king is dead." Ibid. p. 834.

of grief, a mournful silence, arms raised towards heaven, clasped hands; some striking their bosoms, others shaking their heads with a melancholy air. This was the spectacle which was every where presented to my view; some of them looking dejectedly upon me, said, "Ah! monsieur, we are all undone, our good king is dead."

As I passed through the street de la Pourpointerie, a man whom I had not perceived before passed close by me, and put a billet into my hands, which I gave to some of those who were nearest me to read; it contained only these few words, "Monsieur, where are you going? it is done; I have seen him dead; if you enter the Louvre you will not escape any more than him." This billet gave me a dreadful certainty of what I was seeking to know. I could not hinder myself from bursting into tears: the sad truth was confirmed to me a thousand different ways. Du-John, whom I met near Saint-Innocent, said to me, "Monsieur, our evil is without remedy. God has disposed of him; I know it; I have seen him speechless: take care of yourself, for this strange blow must have fatal consequences." On entering the street Saint-Honoré, another billet, like the former, was thrown to me; yet I still continued my course to the Louvre. My train was now increased to three hundred horse, when I met Vitry at the end of the street, he came and embraced me, breaking out into lamentable cries, which it was not in his power to restrain; never did I behold a man in such affliction! "Ah! monsieur, cried he, they have murdered our good master; he is dead; France is ruined: as for me, I am persuaded I have but a short time to live; I am going out of France, never more to return to it; we must now bid farewell to that order and regularity you had established. But, monsieur, said he afterwards, where are you going with this train? they will not suffer you to approach the Louvre, nor to enter there with more than

1610. "than two or three attendants, which I would not
 "advise you to do *; for I am greatly deceived if
 "this plot ends here. I have seen some persons,
 "who have so little sensibility of the loss they have

* By all the duke of Sully's expressions here one may perceive he thought it incumbent upon him to justify himself against a fault he is accused of having committed on this occasion.--Marechal Bassompierre speaks of it as follows: "As we came out, going towards St. Anthony's street, we met the duke of Sully, with about forty horse, who, as he approached, said to us with a melancholy accent, Gentlemen, if your vows of service to the king, whom we have just now most unhappily lost, have made that impression on your minds, which they ought on that of every good Frenchman, swear on the spot, that you will serve the king his son and successor, with the same fidelity as you did him; and that you will venture your persons and lives in revenging his death." I answered him, "Sir, we are obliging others to take this oath, and have no need to be advised to perform what we think ourselves so strongly bound to do." I do not know whether my answer surprised him, or whether he repented of having come so far from his fortress; but he immediately turning about, left us, and went and shut himself up in the Bastille, sending at the same time to seize all the bread in the markets and bakers shops. He also sent in great haste to M. de Rohan, his son-in-law, to make him come back, with six thousand Swifs, who were in Champaigne, and of whom he was colonel-general, to march directly to Paris; which was afterwards made use of as a pretext to exclude him from the management of affairs; besides this, messieurs de Praslin and de Crequy, who came to summon him for that purpose,

"could never persuade him to wait on the king, as all the other great men did; nor did he go till the next day, when the duke of Guise, with difficulty, prevailed on him to go: after which, he countermanded his son-in-law, with the Swifs, who had already advanced a day's march towards Paris." Vol. I. p. 300. L'Etoile only says, "M. de Sully, more dead than alive, came to wait on the queen, who received him kindly, continued him in all his posts, and sent him to the Arsenal to exercise the duties of his office." Mem. hist. de France, p. 309. But his commentator appears to be of the same opinion with Bassompierre, from whom he quotes in the margin the passage we have recited here. The author of L'Histoire de la mere et du fils, inveighs violently on this account against M. de Sully, though without making mention of his seizing the bread, or recalling the Swifs. He only accuses this minister of giving way, with too much weakness, to the fear he had conceived of his enemies about the queen. "Some of his friends, says he, did every thing in their power to engage him to the performance of his duty, and to get the better of his apprehensions and fears: but as persons of the greatest courage, on some occasions become fearful and timorous, it was for some time impossible to inspire him with resolution enough for this purpose. It was a long time before he could recover his courage. Towards the evening, Saint-Geran, whom he had obliged, and who professed a great friendship for him, coming to him, at last prevailed on him to quit the Arsenal and go to the Louvre. When he came to the
 "sustained,

“sustained, that they cannot even dissemble the
“grief they ought to feel for it: this I have ob-
“served, and am ready to burst with rage at it:
“and if you was to see them, you would think as
“I do. I am of opinion that you ought to go
“back; there is business enough for you to do, with-
“out going to the Louvre.”

This agreement of discourses, billets and advices,
struck me at length: I stopped short, and after con-

“Croix-du-Trahoir, his apprehensions seized him again, and so powerfully, by reason of some intelligence he received at that place, that he went back, with fifty or sixty horse, who accompanied him to the Bastile, of which he was captain; having desired M. de Saint-Geran to go and make his excuses to the queen, and assure her of his fidelity and readiness to serve her. Vol. I. p. 49.

Viewing this account in the most unfavourable light, disadvantageous as it is to the duke of Sully, it can only give room to blame him for having carried his precaution, against any attempt on his person (which was looked on as chimerical) too far; but the historian Matthieu, the best informed of all those writers, acquaints us, that the fear this minister had conceived was not so groundless as his enemies have represented. He speaks of this matter in the following manner: “They had raised jealousies in the queen of the duke of Sully, and she had been advised to secure his person, because he had the Bastile, the Arsenal, and the king’s money, in his possession. He had been bathing that day, and being advertised of this unhappy accident, he got on horseback to go to the Louvre; but coming to the Croix-du-Trahoir, followed by about forty gentlemen, he received some advices which made him return. The queen sent the duke of Guise to fetch

him to her; who found him in the great walk in his garden, on the side next to the Bastile, and acquainted him with the queen’s orders. He desired to be excused, because he had notice given him that some designs were formed against him. —The determination he came to, on consulting with the duke of Guise, the count of Bethune, and some other friends, was to stay at home the rest of that day, and to see the queen on the day following, when the duke of Guise promised to come and fetch him, and assured him, that he and all his friends would lose their lives before they would suffer any harm to be done him. —He went back to the queen, and got her approbation of the considerations that detained the duke of Sully, upon the promise he had made of coming to wait on her the next day. Immediately afterwards the duke of Sully, with a good number of gentlemen, went into the Bastile, where he had caused all the bread to be brought that was found in the bakers shops in Paris.” &c. Hist. of Lewis XIII. p. 2 and 3. If we add to this, what the duke of Sully says of the notice he had received from every quarter, that this blow would be followed by terrible consequences which were not expected, we shall perhaps be convinced, that it was only prudent in this minister to act thus, for the sake of the public tranquillity and his own safety.

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1610.  sulting with Vitry, and ten or twelve of the principal persons who followed me, I thought it was the most prudent way to return home; and accordingly I contented myself with sending to offer my duty and services to the queen; and to assure her, at the same time, that till she acquainted me with her orders, I would, with still greater assiduity than before, attend to the care of the Bastile, the Arsenal, the forces and ordnance, and all the affairs of my government, and other employments.

I had but just entered the street Saint-Antoine, and the gentlemen whom I sent with this message could not have had time to deliver it, when I saw a messenger from the queen, who intreated me, from her, to come instantly to the Louvre, and to bring as few persons possible with me, having things of great consequence to impart to me. This proposal of going alone to the Louvre to deliver myself into the hands of my enemies, with whom I knew it was full, was not very proper to remove my suspicions. Besides, I was that moment informed, that an exempt of the guards, and some archers, had been seen at the first gates of the Arsenal; that others had been sent to the Temple, where the powder was lodged; and some to the treasurer of the Exchequer, to stop all the money there. I drew so unfavourable an augury from all this being done without consulting me, that I did not hesitate a moment about the answer I should send to the queen. I sent a gentleman to tell her, that I was very certain, when she had heard what the person whom I had the honour to depute to her had to say, she would enter into my reasons, and alter her opinion; and that I would expect her answer at the Arsenal and the Bastile, from whence I should not remove.

The queen did not stop there; she sent to me immediately messieurs de Montbazon, de Praslin, de Schomberg, La-Varenne, and after them my brother. I knew not what to think of this importunity; but when I saw them all arrive within a quarter

ter of an hour of each other, my suspicions were increased, and I resolved not to go to the Louvre that day: the condition I was in was alone a sufficient excuse. The effort I had made after my bathing in the morning, and after a very slight repast; the state of my mind; far more painful than that of my body; both together had thrown me into so violent a sweat, that my cloaths were quite wet; and into so great a weakness, that I could no longer support myself; therefore, as soon as I got to my apartment in the Bastile, whither I first went, I was obliged to change my shirt, and go into bed, where I was resolved to continue till the next day. The constable and the duke of Epernon came to visit me, and offered me their services; and the manner in which they advised me to wait upon the queen making me judge I might do it without running any danger, I at length yielded, upon the condition they still insisted on, that I should be attended only by a small number of persons: and I resolved to go to the Louvre the next day.

Three hundred persons on horseback waited for my coming out, that they might accompany me as the day before; these were all either relations, friends, or persons seemingly attached to me from the appearance of the new favour I was likely to be in, or perhaps from the shame of quitting me too precipitately. I thanked them all, and told them my reasons for not admitting of an escort that might appear in any degree remarkable, and for confining myself to that small number which usually composed my train. And accordingly it was with my own domestics only, to the number of twenty, or thereabouts, that I arrived at the Louvre. On my entrance, I perceived the marks of a sincere grief in those who had by any employment been attached to the deceased king: of these, the officers and subalterns seemed to feel, with the most tender sensibility, the public loss. As I passed through the several gates I could see them advance to meet and embrace me with tears in their eyes, or groan as they
saw

1610. saw me pass, and earnestly conjure me not to abandon the children, after having so well served the father.

It is with regret I am obliged to confess, that the inner part of the palace, and what is called the court, presented me an object greatly different; there I only saw faces either calm and composed, and, which afflicted me so much the more, as they endeavoured, but in vain, to appear afflicted; or faces so gay, as added indignation to my grief. When I came into the queen's presence, all the little constancy with which I had armed myself so totally left me, that I broke into tears and cries. She no longer found in herself that fortitude with which she had prepared to see me: and we together made up a scene truly affecting. She gave orders that the young king should be brought to me, whose tender caresses gave a new assault to my heart, which I could with the utmost difficulty sustain. I cannot remember what this young prince then said to me, or what I said to him; all I know is, that they were scarce able to tear him from my arms, in which I held him closely embraced. "My son, said the queen his mother to him, this is M. de Sully; you must love him well, for he was one of the best and most faithful servants of the king your father, and I entreat him to continue to serve you in the same manner." The queen and I had some other discourse together, without being able to cease weeping for a moment: she afterwards said, that it was the sight of me, and one other person in the court with which she had been most affected.

A reception attended with such marks of distinction and confidence, reduced all the princes, lords, and members of the council, who were near the queen, to the necessity of outvying each other in protestations of friendship, service, and attachment: yet certainly they did not deceive me, for I knew their hearts as well as themselves: I was convinced already, that in the scheme they had formed of taking

ing advantage of the present conjuncture, to in- 1610.
crease their riches, and arrogate new dignities to
themselves, though at the expence of the good of
the state, the honour of the king, and the pub-
lic welfare, I might be sure of being the mark at
which all their blows would be aimed; because they
themselves, in the firmness of my mind, and the se-
verity of my regulations, had reason to expect in-
surmountable obstacles to their designs: of this they
had already examples so sufficient to convince them,
that the only part they had to take was to endeavour
to get me removed entirely from the administration
of affairs; therefore when, in the sequel, they raised
all sorts of batteries against me in the queen's opi-
nion (taking it for granted that they had not done
it before) when the Jesuits and their adherents made
the nuncio solicit the arret for my dismissal, when
my partners in the council and the finances set Con-
chini and his wife to work, to insinuate to the two
princes of the blood, that they would never have
any real authority while I continued to be at the
head of affairs; and that if they removed me from
the administration, it must necessarily fall into their
hands; when they made all the others believe, that
to depend upon Conchini was to be truly great; in a
word, when I saw them all labouring with equal ar-
dour for my fall, nothing more happened than what
I had foreseen and foretold.

The first thing the parliament proceeded to, after
the king's death was declared, was to appoint the
queen-mother regent. It was thought necessary that
the young king should go thither in person, to hold
his bed of justice, and confirm this nomination*.
The morning after the king's assassination was the

* See the form and particulars
of this ceremony in the Mere.
Franc. and other historians, anno
1610. In the council which met
to advise whether the queen ought
to go to the parliament, the duke

of Selly only said, "That as there
" was no law to forbid the queen's
" going to parliament, it was a
" matter of indifference whether
" she went or not." Matthieu,
ibid. p. 4.

1640. day appointed for this ceremony. It was scarce light, when I received a message from the queen, desiring I would attend his majesty to the parliament. I made every excuse I could think of to avoid it; I even feigned myself so much indisposed, that it would be impossible for me to get out of bed that whole day. I felt indeed an extreme repugnance against doing what they required of me; but it was absolutely necessary to give the queen this satisfaction, who importuned me incessantly. The sound of the drums and musical instruments giving new force to my grief, and judging that a face bathed with tears would but ill suit with the cries of gratulation and joy with which every place resounded; I pressed through the croud, and was amongst the first in the hall of the Augustins, where the parliament was held.

Two or three cardinals, who, like me, had been desirous of avoiding the press, were, with some other persons, already in the hall, and had taken their seats at the upper end of the bench destined for the ecclesiastics, which was on the left side of the throne prepared for his majesty: the bishops of Langres, Beauvais, and Noyon, coming in afterwards, these gentlemen, who had taken it into their heads that their quality of peers gave them a right to precede the princes and cardinals in parliament, would not sit below the latter, who they found had already placed themselves, but went to the bench on the right hand, and took their places at the upper end of it: I found them there when I entered, and told them with great civility, that it was not their place, and advised them, as their friend, to go to the left side, since they could not expect that the temporal peers, who would enter immediately, would suffer them quietly to keep possession of the right side. They were going to stun me with their usual distinctions of peers of an older creation and spiritual peers, which in their opinions raised them greatly above the new dukes. The debate was not carried

to any length by me; I only told them, that they would soon be convinced who was in the right: which accordingly happened. The affair was instantly decided, and they were obliged to go over to the left side; where, finding the cardinals not disposed to give them the upper hand, they chose to go out; rather than submit to this regulation, and did not assist at the ceremony. As for me, though I was present, I interposed no farther in the dispute. The queen had reason to be satisfied with what passed*; every thing was granted her, without even collecting the votes.

It was not long before I discovered, that although, in appearance, they seemed to neglect none of the formalities which are generally observed in the settling a lawful regency; although they would have the alterations, which they already suffered to be perceived in the administration, pass for the common and necessary effect of a change of government; in a word, although they strove to make it be believed, that their sole view, by this manner of government, was to give more strength and grandeur to the authority of an infant king: yet those by whose advice the queen acted, thought of nothing in reality but how, under this mask, to aggrandize themselves. All that show of regularity vanished upon a nearer view; while in its place, we beheld real violations of order, which terrified the few, the very few good subjects still remaining. I thought myself obliged, and in some degree entitled to make them sensible that I saw these abuses, and that I disapproved of them: but the time of free remonstrances, which the grief for the king's death the first day, and the distraction of affairs the second, suffered still to subsist, was past on the third: nor was it much longer before they entirely shook off the yoke of constraint, and appeared no more with a composure of behaviour, and an affectation of for-

* See the historians quoted before, for the manner of this ceremony.

1610. row, which had done too much violence to their real sentiments: stupidity, or the want of a true subject for joy, produced this effect in some; in others, their natural levity of temper; and in others, the mere movement of public and private affairs; but, above all, the fear of displeasing those persons whose examples gave laws to the court.

Let us take a view then of this new world after the three first days. Were we to stop at appearances, and all that was done to strike the eyes, the Louvre might have been thought to have still mourned; all the refinements of melancholy pomp were to be found there; the hangings with which the ceilings, the walls, and floors were covered; the furniture, and all the apparatus of public mourning, made the apartments of state in this palace look like the dismal abode of death and sorrow. But were we to go a little farther, and consider the countenances and behaviour of those who were appointed to do the honours of this sad ceremony, the thing might appear a little doubtful; for if there were some among them who shed real tears, and whose groans indeed proceeded from the heart, there were others who gave sufficient indications of very different emotions. But if we descend from thence, and visit the lower apartments, which were called the ground-floors, there we may form a true notion of the disposition all hearts were in; that magnificence which was banished from every other part of the palace found an asylum there: gold, purple, embroidery, and the most sumptuous ornaments, made this a scene of pleasure and delight; luxury was there in its utmost profusion. Myself, and a small number of true Frenchmen, never entered those apartments, without feeling our hearts torn with grief and rage; to behold, in a place where every object ought to have reminded us of the public loss, all the appearance of joy, triumph, and exultation. I blush to say, that notwithstanding the artifice which was used to conceal this spectacle of insensibility and ingratitude

tude from the eyes of the public, yet it was too often disclosed, by the bursts of laughter, the exclamations of joy, and the songs of gladness, which were heard to proceed from those places: nor indeed were they filled with any but happy persons, or those that believed themselves so. Here it was that the true court resided, and where the councils were held, as well those general ones which were called for show, and compliance with custom, as the private ones, wherein they knew how to render ineffectual all the prudent resolutions that had been taken in the former.

1610.

The queen admitted none into these secret councils, which were held at the most unseasonable hours, but Conchini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spanish ambassador, the chancellor, and the chevalier de Sillery, the duke of Epemon, Villeroi, Jeannin, and Arnaud, (who, as well as Jeannin, from having been entirely devoted to me, became no less attached to Conchini) Duret the physician (who, however, soon fell from this high degree of favour) Dollé, and father Cotton. It is not difficult to guess the subjects of their consultations; the union of the crowns of France and Spain, the renouncing of all the most ancient alliances of the crown with foreign princes, the repealing of all edicts of pacification, the destruction of the protestants, the expulsion of all of them who were in place, the disgrace of those who would not receive the yoke of the new favourites, the dissipation of the treasures amassed by the deceased king, and applied by them to bribe the covetous and ambitious to their interests, and to load with riches and authority those who were going to be raised to the first dignities of the state; in a word, a thousand projects as pernicious to the king and the kingdom, as advantageous to our greatest enemies, made up the grand object of all their views.

To the public council, which was held punctually every day, were summoned the prince of Conti and

1610. the count of Soissons (the prince of Condé was not yet returned to France) the cardinal de Joyeuse, the constable, the dukes of Maine and Guise, and the duke of Bouillon, as soon as he should arrive, mareschal Brissac, Châteauneuf, Pontcarre De-Vic*, Caumartin, and myself. Some of these gentlemen loudly exclaimed against altering our system of politics: but the subject most frequently discussed by this council, were upon the means of increasing the royal revenues, of diminishing the taille and other imposts, and of augmenting the pensions of the grantees, and procuring them several other advantages. The president Jeannin, ever loud and obstinate, made himself be heard above all the others. It was said, this man had been known to promise mountains of gold to every one. Some persons, who still retained the candour and frankness of the old council, and who could neither disguise their own sentiments, nor flatter those of others, joined their endeavours to mine, to shew the gross contradiction there was in pretending to increase the expences, while they were diminishing the revenues.

I was desirous of avoiding the reproach of my own conscience, for suffering, by my silence, such maxims to gain ground: I at first combated them by arguments, and flattered myself, that if the advantage was to remain on the side of reason, we should have carried our point; but we soon found that ignorance was but the least of those vices we had to encounter. It was by the most magnificent promises (of which, however, those that related to the people's relief were never performed) that the new government sought to make friends, and to obliterate, and even to bring into contempt, that wise

* Dominic De Vic, vice-admiral, &c. who has been mentioned before: he died this year at Paris, soon after his return from Calais, of which he was governor; it was asserted, that his death was occa-

sioned by the grief he was seized with, on seeing again the place to which he had seen the corpse of Henry IV. brought after he was assassinated, Merc. Franç. an 1610. p. 529.

frugality to which the glory of the last reign was 1610. owing. Jeannin, indeed, had a particular end to answer by these measures; his scheme being to get the entire disposal of the finances, what better methods could be made use of to raise himself to this post, than to insinuate, that in the new superintendant they should all find that facility and readiness to oblige, which the *grande*s complained they had not met with in the old one? It may be said, that he had not the abilities requisite for this employment, which he at length obtained; but he knew how to enrich himself, his relations, and allies, by it, especially *Castille**, with whom money must certainly be of very little value, since all those pieces of furniture which in other houses are made of iron, or wood, in his were of silver: in this point of magnificence he was inferior to none but *Conchini*.

I was absolutely convinced that I was offering remedies to voluntary ills, when I saw that my freedom of speech which had at first been suffered as being an habitual fault, began to appear so troublesome, that I easily read upon every countenance the pain it gave them to restrain themselves; and that they would soon get rid of those small remains of respect. From that time I looked upon myself as a man who would very soon become something worse than useless, and seriously took up a resolution to disengage myself by degrees from a place where I could not support my former reputation without infinite danger, or swim with the stream without total dishonour: for, indeed, what influence could the voice of one single man, who had nothing but harsh things to say, have over a queen who was used to the alluring language and servile complaisance of flatterers and new favourites? It is a thing so rare for a minister to support himself with his sovereign, by such sentiments alone as arise from a ve-

* *Peter de Castille* was comptroller-general, and superintendant of the finances.

1610. neration mixed with awe (which however will always be the case if that minister be an honest man) that one ought not to expect such a miracle will happen in two reigns successively; therefore when my relations, my friends, and my domestics, whose affection for me made them see things in a very different light, united their endeavours to prevail upon me to continue my cares, which they assured me might still be useful; or even when they represented to me that it was possible some good might be extracted from the new plan, my usual answer was, that the blow which God had permitted, was so plain a declaration that he had delivered up France to her evil destiny, that to endeavour to hinder its effect, was to tempt his vengeance. One of my people, that very Arnaud whom I mentioned a little above, had the insolence to say to me one day, when he saw me extremely dejected with this thought, that I was much to blame to afflict myself thus about what might happen; that for the future there might be very considerable sums laid up in the exchequer, which the great expences of the deceased king in buildings, gaming, dogs, birds, and mistresses rendered it impossible to do while he was living. This speech appeared so criminal in his mouth, that, in the first emotions of my rage, I called him base, wicked, and ungrateful; threatened to strike him, and forbid him ever to appear in my presence again. It was but too true what I reproached him with in that moment, that his base compliances, and wicked counsels, were going to open the first way to dissipation and disorder.

The count of Soissons was not at Paris during these transactions. Some disgust which he had taken at the queen's coronation, on account of the robes which the king's natural * children were to

* It was on account of the blood royal, should wear them sprinkled with flower-de-luces, which the count of Soissons would never consent to,

1610.

appear in there, furnished him with a pretence for retiring to one of his houses, so that he was not a witness of any thing that passed, either as to the king's death, or on the following days; and did not come to Paris till after the queen was declared regent, and all the other dispositions made. This was a new subject for his complaints. He was greatly offended that they had proceeded to a business of such importance as settling the regency, without giving him notice of it, and even without staying till he could be present; for he affirmed, that this ceremony could not be performed without him: and taking it into his head, that, to make himself feared, it was only necessary that he should bluster and talk high, he found fault with many things in the form of this ceremony, boasting that no person would have courage enough to say, in his presence, that only a small number of the presidents and counsellors concurred in the nomination of the queen in the first meeting of the parliament; and added, that on the following day, when the king, the princes, the cardinals, the peers, and other officers of the crown were present, being afraid that, if the question was put to the vote, they should meet with opposition, they contented themselves with a mere confirmation of the act of the foregoing day. He saw plainly that he would not be listened to, unless he could make his party very considerable, and, for this purpose, he constrained himself so far, as to seek the friendship of several courtiers, with whom he had not the least connection. But there were two things which obstructed his success; his haughty and insolent temper, and the preference the courtiers thought their interest required they should give to others, who they found were likely to have the disposal of all favours; and being as much disliked by the princes, and his own brother, the prince of Conti, as by all the rest, he saw himself obliged at length to yield.

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1610.

I was one of those whom for some time the count of Soissons was desirous of calling friend, but it was not long before he gave me every proof of his being a real enemy; and upon the following occasion. The count had often pressed the late king upon an affair of which I have already made some mention: it was to make an agreement with him for some claims, which he alledged he had in Piémont, in right of his wife, who was of the house of Montaffié: his importunity obliged Henry to remit the examination of this matter to me; and the profession I have always made of sincerity and attachment to the interests of my king, forced me to represent to him, that this step would be attended with great inconvenience to him; that he was going to engage himself in processes without number, and without end, against the Pope, the apostolical chamber, the duke of Savoy, and several cardinals, all of whom had pretensions upon these estates, and many already in possession of them; and that he would not be able to extricate himself in less than ten years out of that maze of different interests; and it being necessary, for the advancement of his great designs, that he should be well with the Pope and the duke of Savoy, he must carefully avoid entering into any discussion which might make them his enemies. There needed no more to make Henry lay aside all thought of it.

Upon the death of this prince, the count of Soissons resumed this affair with the new council. In every thing which might be considered as a matter of mere favour, he did not scruple to form any intrigue which might procure him what he demanded. I am almost ashamed to repeat the methods he made use of to attain his ends. The count, with the assistance of Conchini, counterfeited the signature, and made use of the seal of the deceased king; and thus gave an authentic form to a pretended contract of sale between king Henry and him, for all the estates in question. To make
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1610.

this writing less liable to a suspicion of an antedate, they thought it necessary that my name should appear there, which obliged them to request my signature; and this was the greatest difficulty they had to get over. They represented to me, that the moment was now come, which would absolutely fix the count either as my friend or my enemy. They brought a thousand other motives to prevail upon me: but I still persisted, not only to refuse my signature, but also to assert publicly, that this affair having been begun and ended by Henry and myself, no one could know better than I did that his intentions were absolutely contrary to what they were now endeavouring to persuade me of; and I told them plainly, that they presented me a deed falsely signed and sealed; so that, despairing to vanquish my obstinacy, they drew up another contract like the former in every respect, except that my name was omitted.

The count of Soissons and I were upon these terms when he quarrelled * publicly with his brother, the prince of Conti, and, on his account, with the whole family of Guise. The queen sent for me to acquaint me with the expedients she had thought of to accommodate all their differences, which were to be tried when the council was met; and, till then, she entreated me not to espouse the

* This quarrel arose from the coaches of those two princes having been drove against one another, and their coachmen having fought. The duke of Guise going the day after to the prince of Conti, by the queen's order, to endeavour to make up this difference, went by the count of Soissons' palace, with about twenty-five or thirty horse. Nothing more was requisite, to set the count at variance with him also; and this double quarrel raised so great an uproar in Paris, that the queen, being afraid of a general insurrection, gave orders that all

the inhabitants should hold themselves in readiness to put up the chains, and take arms all over the city, at the first order; and she sent a captain of the guards to keep near each of the two princes. We must look in Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 308, & seq. for all the particulars of these differences, since he himself contributed greatly to appease them. See also L'Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 123, and Le Merc. Franç. anno 1611, in which is contained what the duke of Sully said to the queen in favour of the duke of Guise.

cause

1610. cause of either party, that I might, with greater propriety, act the part of a mediator between both when the time for it came; to which I readily agreed. Accordingly, when we were seated in council where the affair was to be treated, and I had already given my opinion favourably for the count, this prince sent Brissac to tell the queen, in a whisper, that he entreated her not to permit any of those persons, who were held in suspicion by him, to deliberate upon this matter, and that he excepted against me * in particular, as being a kinsman and friend to the house of Guise. "He ought not to except against M. de Sully, replied the queen aloud; for there is no person in the council whose judgment has been so favourable to him as his." I confess I was greatly shocked at this treatment, and I could not help saying as I rose up, "Madam, I except against myself, since he desires it; and I am going this moment to offer my service to his brother, and to M. de Guise."

The third quarrel I had with the count of Soissons happened, as the former, in the council, on occasion of the government of Normandy, which he wanted to have conferred upon himself. The queen desired to have my opinion, which I begged she would dispense with me from giving; but, not being able to prevail, I told her that it was impossible for me to advise her to take from the deceased king's children the offices and employments they were already possessed of, to bestow upon any other person whatever. And at that time the count of Soissons and Conchini were not upon good terms with each other, and this prince had even opposed the favourite's getting the post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber for himself, and the archbishopric of

* The author of the life of the duke of Epemon informs us, that the count of Soissons carried his hatred to the duke of Sully so far as to solicit that duke to suffer him to get that minister assassina-

ted even in the Louvre; and that he took it much amiss, the duke of Epemon refused him the assistance of the guards, whom he commanded, to strike this blow. Page 249.

Tours for his wife's brother*; but they were reconciled upon this occasion, because they mutually assisted each other; and by these means both obtained what they demanded. The same method was used by all who had any pretensions to vacant posts and employments, and in a very little time every thing was carried in the council by intrigue and cabal. "The time of kings is over, said one
 "to another, and that of the princes and grandees
 "is come; and all they have now to do, is to set
 "a high value upon themselves."

All the most considerable persons of the court were summoned to an extraordinary council, which was held to deliberate upon the use that should be made of those great armaments, set on foot by the late king, a little before his death, for the enterprise of Cleves. The diversity of opinions was infinite: some were for laying them totally aside: others, and those not the least numerous, were for performing all the promises made by Henry the Great to the German princes concerned in the affair: the greatest number were for mediums between these two opinions so opposite to each other: some advised that we should keep only to the eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse, expressed in the general contracts made by king Henry with his allies: others, that we should content ourselves with maintaining the two regiments of French cavalry already in their service: a third party voted for embarking some foot soldiers at Calais; these, that we should send them no supplies of men, but assist them with money; those, that we should keep our whole army

* Stephen Galigai, brother of Leonora Galigai. He was then Abbot of Marmoutier. "He had learned to read four years, says L'Etoile, and yet knew nothing of the matter; he was called the baboon of the court, on account of his ugliness and mean aspect. The monks would not accept of him as their abbot, saying they
 "had been used to be under the command of princes, and not of joiners, like him, who was just come from handling the plane."
 "But it is certain, says Amelot, that the family of Galigai is reckoned amongst the noble families of Florence." He went back to Italy after the death of the marshal D'Ancre, and his wife.

1610. upon the frontier without acting, except in a case of absolute necessity: and others, that we should disband the greatest part of our troops; and keep no more than was necessary for our own security. All this was intermixed with overtures of agreement and pacification, to be made between the contending powers, such as just then occurred to them:

It appeared to me that they all expected, with some impatience, my opinion, because I had been more engaged in the affair by the late king; than any other to whom he had communicated it. I began by making what I judged a very just distinction between those troops already drawn together into the body of an army, and those which were still levying; between those destined for the field, and those which had been sent into Dauphiné. With regard to the first therefore I concluded, that since, according to all appearances, and from the present situation of affairs, most part of the designs of Henry the Great would not be carried into execution, it was necessary to suspend immediately all levies not begun, stop those which were making; and pay and dismiss all that were made, and already upon their march; because, since all this must be done sooner or later, it would save the king so much money in the expences of sending backwards and forwards, and the people so much trouble and oppression. The death of him whom I had regarded as the great mover of this whole enterprize, seemed in my opinion to have made so great a change in it; that I believe I should have given the same advice, even though I had found no ill intentioned person amongst us; but neither could I conform to the opinions of those who were for betraying our allies, with whom we were engaged by the most solemn promises; or deceiving them, by affecting to take steps to procure an accommodation between them, or by granting them feeble succour, which would be of scarce any use to them.

This

1610.

This was the answer I made to the greatest part of those ambiguous opinions, which were for and against a thing at the same time. I made them sensible that it highly concerned the glory of the late king, since his greatest designs could not be accomplished, which might in some measure give room for suspicions that he had never really formed them, they should at least have all their effect with regard to what he had declared, promised, and already begun: that it was for the interest of our own reputation with the foreign powers, that we should not suffer them to believe the whole force of France was concentrated in one single man, and that he had so little respect for his memory. I concluded, therefore, that it was absolutely necessary to send deputies immediately to the German princes, and to the prince of Orange, to know of them whether they really stood in need of the assistance of our forces to help them to reduce those states which we were desirous of securing to them; for I thought they might do without them, if that was not their sole motive for taking up arms; and, if they had occasion for them, to know how many they demanded, and that upon their answer those supplies should advance immediately under the conduct of good officers, taking their rout along the Maes, which was not indeed the most agreeable, nor the shortest way, but was the most secure, which was a matter of great importance; or else, that the whole army should be disbanded, except thirty thousand foot, and six hundred troopers, who, strengthened by four cannons only and two culverins, should form a flying camp, ready to go wherever there was any appearances of an action: and this I thought sufficient to keep every place in order: that, till then, it was necessary to put the troops of Champaign into garrison, after giving them their full pay.

I gave much the same advice, with respect to the army of Dauphiné, as it had been already raised to support the duke of Savoy, who, in compliance with

1610. with our request, had, or probably would embroil himself with all his neighbours: therefore it might be justly expected, that we should either endeavour to reconcile him with the king of Spain, or put him into a condition to defend himself; and, as we could not take any resolution upon this head till we had sent another deputy to this prince, or perhaps till a long time afterwards, I advised that this army should be likewise put into convenient winter quarters, (after making so exact a review of them, that no false muster might be apprehended) till there was occasion for them, or till they were disbanded altogether.

I found that I was heard with attention; my reasons seemed to have made a general impression; but with this difference, that sensible and well disposed persons did not scruple to discover this effect, by shewing signs of approbation, and even by applauses; whereas all the others not only carefully concealed it, either through vanity, neglect, or rather through jealousy, but also combated my reasons with eagerness and heat. I took care to inform Bethune, my cousin, of all this, who, in a letter he wrote to me, desired my advice upon the alteration which the public loss must necessarily make in his embassy to the German princes. I shall not transcribe his letter, nor my answer to it, because they contained nothing essentially different from what has been just said, except perhaps that I examined more particularly the good or bad effects of the advice I had given in the council: this, for example, is a thing that merits to be well observed, that which way soever it shall happen that a body of troops may find entrance into Germany to join the confederate princes, that entrance would be accompanied with great hazard, though the body consisted of ten thousand men, unless the allies on their side facilitated their advance by meeting them within ten or twelve leagues of our frontiers. The scheme of embarking them at Calais, if that was chosen,

chosen, would be likewise inconvenient; it would supply our confederates with foot only, and that to no greater number than eight thousand; and it was even necessary that we should have a right understanding with each other. I forewarned Bethune with respect to a thing which required the attention of him and his correspondents, which was, that France, by changing her master, had changed every thing else; and I shewed my astonishment, that the princes who employed him should express their schemes, desires, and resolutions, in so unintelligible a manner. I left it to his discretion to judge what use he ought to make of a letter, in which it was necessary I should avoid explaining myself clearly upon several things: as for advice, I said, I had no other to give him, but to continue, till he received new orders, to act as he had done hitherto, and I promised him faithfully to take care of his interests. This letter was dated May 24. 1610.

Some days afterwards I was summoned to a more particular council upon this affair. M. de Jacop, ambassador from the duke of Savoy, suspecting that the resolutions taken by the members of the new council were not very favourable to his master, had pressed the queen regent to declare her intentions to him as soon as possible, that his highness might take such measures thereupon as his interest required. We were to consult, therefore, upon the declarations proper to be made to this ambassador. When I came to the Louvre, in the morning, I found only the constable, the chancellor, and Villeroi, with the queen; Gêvres and Loménie had been there, but Villeroi had persuaded the queen to send them away, for which Gêvres made bitter complaints. I suspected, by the studied gestures and the winding discourse which one of these gentlemen began to make, that there was something they wanted to conceal from me. "Madam," said I to the queen, with my usual frankness, "I know not for what

1610.

“end you have been pleased to summon me hither;
 “my presence either hinders these gentlemen from
 “explaining themselves, or else they are come only
 “to entrap one another. The business I perceive
 “relates to the duke of Savoy; it is well known
 “that I am not in great friendship with him: how-
 “ever, since his interests are at present connected
 “with those of France, and that he is (at least
 “in expectation) an ally of the royal family, I
 “have the same regard for him as I ought to have
 “for all true Frenchmen. I am of opinion, that
 “the king is indispensably obliged to protect and
 “defend him; and that his majesty’s honour and
 “the glory of the kingdom, are both concerned not
 “to suffer that the least injury should be offered
 “to his person and dominions.”

I perceived the queen to smile at this speech, and
 whisper Villeroi; then turning to me, she said,
 “M. de Sully, it is true we are met to consult upon
 “the duke of Savoy’s affairs; but there are others
 “of still greater consequence, which it is necessary
 “we should attend to. You see what quarrels are
 “risen among many of the grandees of the king-
 “dom, whose ambition and avarice, you say, are
 “insatiable. I entreat you to think of some remedy
 “for this evil, that it may be proposed in the first
 “council. With respect to M. de Savoy, these
 “gentlemen and I, before you came, had talked
 “of that business; and we are all of this opinion,
 “that a reconciliation between France and Spain is
 “most for our interest; and for this purpose we
 “are determined to send one of the princes of the
 “blood to Madrid, on occasion of the death of
 “my lord the king, who shall be accompanied with
 “a person well instructed in our affairs, and upon
 “whose secrecy we may securely rely. He shall
 “set on foot this reconciliation, and propose an al-
 “liance between the two crowns by a double mar-
 “riage, which I know the Spaniards still wish for
 “as

“ as ardently as they did formerly ; and while this
 “ affair is negotiating, in which I foresee no great
 “ difficulty, or that it will be long protracted, we
 “ must flatter the duke of Savoy in his first hopes
 “ and expectations, till we can declare ourselves
 “ without danger.” 1610.

This resolution gave me great uneasiness, which I discovered by my silence and shrugging up my shoulders. The queen took notice of it; and pressed me to tell her my opinion. I represented to her, that we could not, without exposing ourselves to the reproach of having violated our faith, abandon a prince who had broken all his engagements with Spain, and openly declared himself against that crown *, at the persuasion of the deceased king ; that, since we had altered our views, we ought to give him notice of it, and at the same time conceal this step from the king of Spain, or rather make him believe we had acted very differently, till, by a general reconciliation, we had put those out of danger who would not have been in it but through us. These arguments, however just and reasonable, made no impression on the queen and her counsellors, nor did they even approve the medium my last words had hinted at, but coldly told me, that this way would engage them in a train of tedious negotiations. I replied with that confidence which a good cause inspires, that I found the sacrificing

* By the treaty of Brusol, which had been concluded on the 15th of April. See it in Nevers's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 386. The duke of Savoy, being abandoned by the new council in France, could not escape the resentments of the court of Spain, but by the most humiliating step a crowned head can possibly be reduced to. His son came to throw himself at the king of Spain's feet, beseeching him to take the duke his father, and all his house, under his royal protection. He told the king, that he embraced his knees, that he had recourse to his

clemency, and that, with the most humble submission, he asked his pardon for the faults he had been guilty of against him, &c. Siri most certainly mistakes his aim, if he pretends to make us admire the politics of the new council, by giving us such instances as this of their proceedings. One must be as much prejudiced as this writer against Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, and as violent a partisan of the Spaniards, to approve of a manner of acting so opposite to that justice and generosity France has always professed to shew.

1610. the duke of Savoy was a point determined on, and appeared to me to have been so before this consultation. I drew presages, no less certain to the disadvantage of our allies, from all the looks and signs of intelligence, which I surprised between the queen, the chancellor, and Villeroi: but the new counsellors, and the confidants of that prince, soon threw off all restraint, and declared their sentiments freely; the deceased king's government, so wise, so gentle, and so glorious for France, was condemned almost publicly, and even despised and ridiculed; at one time, they treated his designs as mere chimera's; at another, they represented him as a weak pusillanimous prince, incapable of taking any noble resolution. It was not enough to leave the death of this great prince unpunished; they added to that neglect all sorts of outrages against his memory, and, unhappily for us, heaven, which reserved to itself this vengeance, suffered envy and ingratitude to triumph in their success.

I returned home full of grief at what I saw and heard. "We are going," said I to madame de Sully, whose prudence I well knew, "to fall under the domination of Spain and the jesuits: all true Frenchmen, and protestants especially, must look well to their safety; for they will not continue long in tranquillity." This reflection kept me in a profound reverie all dinner time. The bishop of Montpelier came to visit me in the afternoon: he entreated me to give him an opportunity of conferring with me in my closet, from whence, in about half an hour, I let him out by a private door; for he did not desire to be known, and therefore hid his face with his handkerchief that none of my people might see it. "I have heard some news just now," said I to my wife, and three or four persons in whom I confided; "a secret council has been held at the house of the nuncio Ubaldini, at which were present the chancellor, Conchini, Villeroi, the bishop of Beziers, and another person whose name was
" not

" not known, but he was thought to be the duke
 " of Epernon: they condemned, they even spoke
 " with scorn and contempt of the deceased king's
 " designs; nor was I treated any better by them.
 " It was resolved there to change entirely all the
 " maxims of our government, and all our political
 " alliances; to write to the Pope, and promise to
 " be guided wholly by his advice; to enter into a
 " strict union with Spain; and as soon as it was
 " solidly established, all those who shewed any dis-
 " like to it, especially the huguenots, should be re-
 " moved from the administration of affairs, and
 " banished the court. If I am wise, continued I,
 " I shall quietly resign all my posts and employ-
 " ments, withdraw all my money, or as much of
 " it as I can; with part of it purchase some strong
 " castle in one of the most distant provinces, and
 " keep the remainder for any exigencies that may
 " happen."

We were still conversing upon this subject when
 the duke of Rohan, the two Bethunes, my brother,
 and my cousin, my son, and two or three more of
 my most intimate friends came in, to whom I im-
 parted what I had heard, and the resolution I had
 taken upon it. They maintained that the informa-
 tion could not be true; that I was going to take
 a step which would draw upon me the reproach of
 ingratitude to the state, and to the children of the
 king, my benefactor; that I might very easily con-
 tinue in the possession of all my employments, and
 the exercise of all my offices; and that it would ap-
 pear weak and mean to yield thus to my enemies at
 the first encounter. I could not be convinced by
 their arguments, nor could I bring them to admit
 of mine. " It is your desire then, said I at last,
 " that I should sacrifice myself for the public, my
 " family, and my friends; for I see plainly that
 " your interest has great part in what you say to
 " me. I will do so, since you force me to it; but
 " remember what I now tell you: this concession

1619. " will procure you no advantage, and will bring
 " great trouble, loss, and even disgrace upon me;
 " and I am going, added I, to give you a specimen
 " of it this moment."

Having observed that the courtiers of the highest rank, and those among them most remarkable for their pride and insolence, had not disdained to make advances, and meanly court the friendship of him who appeared to engross the queen's favour, I concluded with myself that it would be very difficult to preserve the same connection, and the same good intelligence (in appearance at least) with the court, as I had formerly, unless I expressed some kind of regard for the new favourite. I had resolved, in case this thought should hold, to make use of Arnaud the younger for this purpose, who of himself was but too much disposed to worship the rising sun. I had sent for him in the morning, and acquainted him with the commission I intended to give him ere long, to wait upon monsieur Conchini *, and

* Concino Conchini, an Italian of mean birth, according to some; but a Florentine gentleman, according to others; better known under the title of marshal D'Ancre, which he bore afterwards. He was the chief favourite of the queen regent, and loaded by her with riches and dignities. It is said that, at his departure from Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to do in France, his answer was, *either to make his fortune or perish*; and that he did both the one and the other. He was killed in the Louvre by Vitry, on the 24th of August 1637, by order of king Lewis XIII. and at the solicitation of the nobility. The hatred which was conceived against him, has caused him to be painted in the blackest colours. Very few have done justice to the good qualities he possessed: but perhaps divine justice designed to revenge the horrible assassination of Henry the Great on

the person of this Italian, one of those whom it is the most difficult to acquit of it, supposing this murder was committed by a foreign instigation. His wife, the same Leonora Galigai, so often mentioned in these Memoirs, was also put to death. They could find no other crimes to charge her with, but her having bewitched the queen her mistress. "I have never," answered she to her judges, made use of any witchcraft but my wit; is it at all to be wondered at that I governed the queen who had none? Cardinal Richelieu, adds "Amelot, owed the first steps towards his fortune to this woman." They both were possessed of the magic of eloquence. We must search in the histories of Mary of Medicis, and of Lewis XIII. for whatever relates to this matter. There are also some anecdotes relating to it, which are curious enough, in Baslompierre's Memoirs.

to make him offers of service in my name. I had ^{1610.} already told him in what manner to turn his compliment, which I shall here give the reader: He was to tell Conchini that I bore him no ill will for the height fortune was going to raise him to, by giving him the same place with the queen as I had held with the late king; that I looked upon this event as one of those, which happen too often in the order of providence, to occasion much surprise; that the queen regent, by this advancement of him, justly repaid the attachment which his wife and himself had always shewn for her, and the good services she had received from them; that, by chusing him to preside over the administration of affairs, her majesty doubtless expected to give to the king her son, and to the whole state, an able and a faithful minister, two great qualities which are alone sufficient to render a man, whoever he was, truly worthy of all the benefits her favour could secure to him; that, being equally persuaded of the queen's laudable designs, and of his disposition to second them, I freely and cordially offered to him all those measures which a long experience had furnished me with; an offer which he would find worthy of acceptance, if he reflected, that besides the public good, which would necessarily result from it, he would reap some advantage to himself, in not purchasing the favours which in the sequel would be showered on him, with the jealousy of the nobles, the public hatred, the prejudice of affairs, and the oppression of the people; that the only return I demanded of him for thus entering into his views of grandeur and interest, was to endeavour to gratify them by following those maxims of government by which the late king had rendered his people happy, and his kingdom flourishing. Of these maxims, one, which the present state of affairs seemed to make most necessary, was, not to accustom the men of business and those importunate petitioners that haunt the court, to depend upon obtaining all they

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should

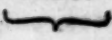
1610. should demand: that, upon these conditions, he should find me sincerely disposed to unite myself with him; and that from this moment I offered him my friendship, and requested his.

If the nature of my compliment be well considered, it will be granted that there were exceptions in these advances which took away all fear of having engaged myself too far: but, however, I believe it will be allowed that they ought to satisfy, and, if I may say so, flatter the vanity of him to whom they were made. Be that as it will, this message appeared to me very proper to produce that effect, of which I was endeavouring to persuade those, who so obstinately combated my resolution. After having called Arnaud, and given him his instructions in the presence of these gentlemen, "Go," said I to him, to monsieur Conchini, and deliver the message to him which I gave you in the morning, and return as soon as possible. I am much deceived, added I, if all these gentlemen," addressing myself to them, "who have so good an opinion of the queen, and her private counsellors, will not find, by Conchini's answer, that there is nothing for me to expect."

The company all staid with me, waiting for an answer to my message, which Arnaud brought us at the expiration of an hour, and in a manner which confirmed me in those suspicions I had before conceived against him. He began with praising Conchini for his great abilities, and his knowledge in matters of state, dwelt upon his interest and powerful friends, and, slightly passing over what it most concerned me to know, he only told me, that he believed I had nothing to hope for from him, unless I was disposed to comply with him in all things. "I fancy I understand you," said I, with a little rage I was not able to suppress; "but tell me

* M. de Sully had a custom of scratching his head, if any one vexed or embarrassed him.

"plainly

“plainly what you would be at, and let me know 1610.
 “what you and he said to one another.” Then, 
 as if forced to it, he gave us the following detail, shaking his head, and smiling malignantly as he spoke: That, as he entered Conchini's house, he met the president Jeannin and his brother Arnaud, who were just coming out; that they seemed concerned at seeing him there, but that they did not speak to him, nor he to them, which however I believe was not true; that a gentleman, whose name was Vincenne, introducing him into Conchini's apartment, said to him, “You belong, I think, to
 “M. de Sully; would to God that we were to follow his councils, rather than those of the two
 “persons who went from hence just now, and of
 “several others still worse than they are! we should
 “not hurry things on at such a rate as they urge
 “us to do; but the queen's authority and our fortune would be established in a more laudable
 “manner, and be far more certain and durable.” That, entering Conchini's apartment, he said to him, “What! monsieur Arnaud, are you come to
 “visit me?” That hereupon he made him the compliment, and delivered the message I had sent by him, which he now repeated to us.

Arnaud then stopped again, and, after some hesitation, said, that the answer he had received was so very short and dry, that he believed it was the best way not to repeat it. What still remained for him to tell was precisely that which I most wanted to know. After suffering himself to be urged a long time, he at length told us, that Conchini, without expressing any acknowledgement for the civil offers he had made him in my name, and even without seeming to give the least attention to what he had said, replied in very bad French, and in a proud and disdainful accent. “How! M. Arnaud, the
 “duke of Sully then expects to govern the affairs
 “of France as he did in the late king's time: he is
 “much mistaken; the queen being queen, it is for
 “her

1610. " her to dispose of all things as she pleases, and
 " I would advise him to be wholly guided by
 " her will; as for my wife and I, we have no
 " occasion for the assistance or favour of any one;
 " her majesty esteems us, because we have served
 " her faithfully: it is not in the power of any
 " person whatever to deprive us of her favour, or
 " to hinder the effects of it. If M. de Sully has
 " any requests to make, he will have more occasion
 " for our assistance than we of his, which he has
 " sent you to offer us; and possibly, if he knew
 " how much we are courted, he would be more
 " respectful than he has hitherto been: there
 " is not any prince or nobleman of the court who
 " has neglected to visit us, except him and one
 " more."

The company, who had not expected an answer so rude and insolent, stared upon one another, and shrugged up their shoulders, but did not utter a word. " Well, gentlemen, said I to them, do you still think it possible for me to keep my employments with honour, and that they will suffer me to continue at the head of affairs as formerly?" They acknowledged that they had formed a wrong judgment of the true state of things. This led us into many other conversations, which were very long, but of too little consequence to be related here. In the end, however, it was concluded, that we should allow something to chance, precipitate nothing, and expect what the arrival of M. the prince of Condé would produce, upon whom many others, as well as myself, had founded great hopes.

It was from Pallot that I received the first information of this prince's having entered the kingdom; and he told me, at the same time, that, being not well furnished with ready money, I might make my court to him very successfully, by paying him, without waiting till he demanded it, one half year of his pension. Fortunately it was in my power to do him this favour without incurring the reproach of having

having disposed of the king's money at my own pleasure, and without staying for an order; for this sum had been carried to account, though it was not yet delivered to the prince; because the late king, being unwilling to let him know that he had still indulgence enough for him to continue his pension, waited till some opportunity should offer when I might send it him as if from myself. I had already paid half the sum to two persons whom the prince had commissioned to demand it, and, remembering that they had told me about eight days ago that the money was still in their hands, I ordered the whole sum to be delivered to Pallot, who when he paid it to the prince, took care to give him a just notion of this instance of my attachment to him. In reality, at that time, it was one of the greatest services I could have done him, and he was so much obliged by it, that he declared publicly, as I was informed by a son of M. D'Harcourt's*, that he would not enter Paris till he had seen me and asked my advice, which he was resolved to follow. As I then saw myself surrounded with none but enemies, I was truly rejoiced at having thus extinguished that resentment which the first prince of the blood had so long borne me. He did me the honour to depute to me, at different times, Messieurs de Rieux, de Montataire, de Clermont, and other gentlemen, to acquaint me with his situation, and his designs.

The prince of Condé, upon the news of the king's death, had instantly set out for France, and hoped, by making extraordinary haste, to arrive time enough to take advantage of the rights due to his rank upon this occasion, which was exactly like that on which the king of Navarre, his great uncle, had endeavoured to gain the preference before Catherine de Medicis; but being soon informed that the queen, without staying for him, or for any of the other princes of the blood, without first settling a council

* Peter de Harcourt, marquis of Beuyron.

1610. of regency as the laws directed, or observing any of the usual forms on such occasions, had been rather declared than chosen regent, he found that he could no longer indulge a hope of obtaining the regency, and even began to entertain some doubts about the treatment they were preparing for him at court, where, after this, his presence could not fail of being unwelcome: but, as he imagined that nothing was more likely to give weight to his demands, than the respect and distinction which the nobles should be obliged to pay him upon this occasion, he caused them to be sounded, and gave them to understand, that he should think himself obliged to all those who should come to meet him, and escort him into Paris.

This proposal was made to me as well as the rest; but I thought the place I filled required that, before I complied with it, I should obtain the queen's permission, as she now represented the person of the king. She did not expressly forbid me to go and meet the prince, but, by the manner in which she received my request, she insinuated that I should do her a pleasure if I abstained from shewing him that instance of respect. I also found, by the few words she said, that she gave me, as well as others, liberty to chuse between her and the princes of the blood; for it was apparent that she did not expect to be upon good terms with them. It was probable, likewise, that the coldness and reserve which appeared in her countenance, proceeded from some resentment she entertained against me for having paid the prince the money I have mentioned; for her confidants had discovered the affair, and did not fail to inform her of it; and she, without doubt, had forgot that that sum made an article of expence which had been inserted in the accounts: it is likely also, that the council which was held, and which I forgot to mention till now, was one consequence of this resentment. It was there determined, that, till a new order, I should be continued

to have the direction of the finances, particularly of what related to the pensions of state. I was apprehensive that the queen wanted only such an incident as this, to withdraw her favour from me entirely; and I was resolved not to expose myself to her hatred, for a thing which did not appear to me to be of much importance. As to the prince, he dispatched couriers upon couriers to prevail with me to alter my resolution; and at length he ordered the gentlemen before mentioned to assure me, that he was absolutely determined not to come to Paris at all, since I refused to accompany him in his entry, and to confer with him upon those affairs which would decide the part he was to take, and which he could only know from me. 1610.

Thus importuned, I went again to the queen, to solicit her consent that I should meet the prince; but I could obtain no other permission, than such a one as plainly indicated her displeasure at my asking it. The choice I was to make was so much the more perplexing, as it lay between two parties which from thenceforward must be looked on as totally opposite to each other: however, I declared myself openly for that which would consider my compliance as an essential service, rather than the other, by whom it would be only acknowledged as an instance of complaisance which would be soon forgot. And I went to meet the prince*, who, notwithstanding all that the duke of Epemon could say to him, would not set out from the place where he had dined, till he knew that I was not far off. I met him in the open road, and alighted to pay my respects to him; but he was off his horse almost as soon as I, and came to embrace me with equal marks of joy and deference. He began a conference with me as we stood, which lasted a quarter

* "The prince, says Matthieu, " was at his house at Châteauroux: he had seen the duke of Sully, who had advised him to

" return to court, as his presence alone would be of more advantage to the king's service," &c. Ibid. 23.

1610. of an hour, though d'Epemon represented to him that it would be late before he got to Paris: he addressed himself by the way often to me upon different subjects. I attended him to the gates of the Louvre, where I left him to pay his compliments* to the queen, and returned myself to the Arsenal.

It was very possible, that at the time when the prince of Condé seemed apprehensive of meeting with some ill usage from the queen, he secretly flattered himself with having a very different reception, when he reflected upon the good intelligence they were in formerly: and perhaps he had, upon these expectations, formed a plan of conduct quite contrary to that he laid down to me, and assured me he would follow. It was the general opinion when he left France, that his discontent and his flight were the effects of that princess's advice and persuasions, and the late king was told so: however that may be, the prince, if he built any thing upon the former friendship between him and the queen, was soon undeceived, and knew by experience, that it was of no force against the jealousy of absolute power. The queen seemed to have forgot the time when they gave the name of their common interest to the motives by which they were actuated; but it was not her entering into a recital of the affairs of state, and the government, which banished past scenes from her remembrance, for she communicated

* "The prince came to Paris the 15th of July, accompanied by fifteen hundred gentlemen, which greatly alarmed the queen, who was afraid, as the artillery, the Bastile, and the late king's treasures, were in his power, by means of the duke of Sully; in case the parliament and people should not prove faithful, he might attempt things of very dangerous consequence to the king's service. The prince had no less mistrust of others than what they had of him. On his arrival, he had notice given him three or four times, that the queen, at the instigation of the count of Soissons, had formed a design to secure him and the duke of Bouillon; which was the reason, that notwithstanding the kind reception he met with from both their majesties, he was up three nights, ready to quit Paris on the first notice he should receive of any attempts being formed against him." Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 101.

nothing to him upon those heads, and confined herself to a ceremonial so grave, so cold, and reserved, that the prince came away from the Louvre, greatly disgusted with his reception. 1610.

All this I discovered by the discourse we had together when he came to visit me two days afterwards, though he did not at first explain himself freely, and named no one. I waited for an explanation of his sentiments, before I would declare mine; and till then I was still more reserved than he was; but at length he began to talk to me of his designs in terms so clear, expressed all at once so much esteem for me, and such unlimited confidence in my sincerity, shewed so ardent a desire to labour, in concert with me, to find proper measures to hinder that confusion and disorder with which the affairs of the state and the finances were threatened, demanded so sincerely my advice concerning the conduct he should pursue for the public good, in the midst of those obstacles which jealousy, hatred, and faction, were going to oppose to his designs, that I thought I owed so much to his generous confidence, and to the laudable motive by which he was inspired, as to open my heart to him freely upon all that he had said: to this I was more fully determined by his telling me candidly, that among all those to whom he communicated his earnest wishes, that the political and domestic affairs of the state might still continue to be governed by the same maxims which the late king had pursued, there was not one who did not endeavour to make him alter his opinion, and give him a disgust to the former administration. I was afraid that the view of difficulties either absolutely unfurmountable, or which could not be overcome without infinite hazard, would throw him into the path they sought to lead him to.

After I had thanked him for the honour of his esteem and confidence, I made him the following answer, and almost in these words: That those persons

1610. persons whom he had consulted upon the present question, were all too much interested in it to give him such advice as might ruin their hopes and expectations; that I could offer him no other than such as I would give to his uncles, the prince of Conti and count of Soissons; and to the queen herself, were they to consult me with any intentions to be influenced by my reasons, because the real interest of all four, if well examined, would be found to be the same; and this advice was, to unite together to support the honour and grandeur of the king against the nobles, and against that croud of importunate, ambitious, and self-interested men, with which the court was filled; since the designs of all those persons were, by methods the least allowable, to take advantage of a conjuncture which has at all times been the triumph of avarice and licentiousness: That this was the point from which they were to set out; and that they might not go aside, or give an example to others which they themselves condemned, it was necessary that the whole kingdom should be informed, by a solemn declaration, that their sole view in this union was the glory of the state; and by the effects it produced, the people should be convinced that they were treading in the steps of a king, all whose designs and undertakings had been justified by that success they hoped to be favoured with: That it was indispensibly necessary to protest frequently, and in the most public manner, that they were actuated by the same spirit by which that great prince had found the secret of making a kingdom, plunged in misery and despair, opulent and flourishing; and that the most effectual proof they could give of their exact imitation of him, was to have no selfish views, by refusing all the unjust demands of a whole people of greedy courtiers: I did not mean by this, that they were not to expect or desire any reward for themselves; on the contrary, it was one of the advantages which these four persons would derive from this system, that

that by directing all affairs with wisdom and prudence, they would in one year accumulate more riches justly and with honour, than they could in ten by any other method; but that, however, they must not suffer themselves to be tainted by avarice; and this caution I repeated the oftener, because, that of all the virtues necessary to statesmen, there is not one so difficult to practise as moderation, in the midst of vast treasures and unlimited favour. I added, that I knew already all the plans formed by each of the princes to enjoy what they called the rights of their birth; but also, that by preserving themselves from that dangerous snare, no power would be able to resist them: were all the nobles and all the heads of the different factions to be leagued against them, the interest of the king, when supported by such methods, would become the public and the general interest, and the impression made by the royal name would be then carried to its highest pitch.

I then told the prince, that all which now remained was to know, whether the queen and the two other princes of the blood, were disposed to take such measures as were necessary for the success of this scheme; but that I was so far from flattering him with this hope, that I freely declared to him, he ought not to reckon upon their concurrence: yet that this should not make him dispense with himself from using his utmost endeavours to bring the queen over, as well because it was necessary that, in a point of this consequence, he should have no cause to reproach himself with any neglect, as because this princess, being already in possession of the royal authority, he would have occasion for the strongest reasons he could urge, to justify to the public the extremities he would be obliged to proceed to. That, after this precaution, no consideration whatever should hinder him from taking upon himself the discharge of a duty which the princes his uncles were not willing to share with him; but that, when

1610.

thus deprived of all other support, he must make his actions speak for him: these must shew a disinterestedness so determined, a candor and probity so distinguished, as may accustom the people to look upon him as the true friend of the king, themselves, and the state: that a man who employed only such arms as these, in a rank so elevated, would sooner or later carry all before him: that the princes of Conti and Soissons would be among the first who were sensible of it, by comparing the honour which a procedure so great and disinterested would reflect upon the royal blood, with the disrespect, the contempt, and often the affronts they would be exposed to, when the public saw them confounded with the rest of the selfish courtiers. That the queen herself would find many arguments to balance her inclination to a contrary conduct, especially if she saw the princes of the blood reunited against her. That, in a word, I believed I might venture to engage for it, that necessity, confidence, and the force of the torrent, would at length bring all over to his side; and that there would be no longer any connexions, quarrels, reconciliations, and cabals, between the queen, the princes, and the people in place, which would not turn to the advantage of his authority, if, from this moment, he would begin to form the plan I had sketched out to him, and follow it faithfully.

The extreme attention with which the prince listened to me, convinced me that I had found the way to his heart, and that I had made upon it that strong impression which is the effect of virtue and justice united in the same object. What has since happened does not prove that I was then deceived; or if it does, it proves also that the prince deceived himself first; since it is certain, that the force of my arguments supported him a long time against the assaults he had on all sides. Whatever arts were made use of by those persons that continually beset him, the slightest attention to the nature of those counsels

counsels they gave him, must have shewn him very plainly, that they were dictated by avarice and ambition. How different were such sentiments from those I endeavoured to inspire him with? He felt it, he was convinced of it, and yet he suffered himself, like all the rest, to be carried along with the torrent. The duke of Bouillon contributed more than any other to engage him in the party of error*. I myself represent, and probably exaggerate, every thing that can serve to justify this prince, by candidly acknowledging that it was not difficult to paint, in the finest colours, those motives by which they endeavoured to undermine my principles; and that it ought not to appear surprising, that a prince, young and unexperienced, should not have discern-

16.10.

* The author of the life of the duke of Bouillon, giving an account of the counsels that duke gave the prince of Condé, says, "He advised him to leave the queen the quality of regent, but to reduce it to a mere title, which might satisfy her vanity; but to get all the actual authority into his own hands. He told him, he knew an infallible way of bringing this to pass, which, if he would pursue, he would be answerable for the success: that this method consisted in his again making profession of the calvinist religion, from which the late king had drawn him, and to declare himself the protector of the protestants in France: that bring, in consequence of this step, followed by the calvinist nobility, of whom he would be head, master of all the strong places in the possession of that party (that is, of an hundred and three towns and places, well fortified) supported by all the Swiss in France of whom the duke of Rohan was colonel-general; secure of all the treasures left by the late king in the Bastille, which the

duke of Sully, discontented with the regent, could put into his hands: it could not, with all these great advantages, be any way doubted, but a first prince of the blood, as he was, during a minority, must be in a condition to seize on all the authority, and make himself equally formidable within the kingdom as without.—God did not permit him to follow this advice of the duke of Bouillon; If he had, the calvinists would have recovered all the advantages they had lost by the late king's conversion: in all probability, the kingdom would have been divided between them and the catholics; and their republic, which was treated as imaginary, would at last have proved something real." Vol. II. p. 307. But many continued persuaded, as this historian himself afterwards owns, that the duke of Bouillon did not seriously make this proposition to the prince; that he was the first to divert him from it; and that all his intent was, only to let the regent see, that he himself would be a sufficient security against all the mischief he was able to do her.

1610.

ment enough to distinguish appearances from realities; nor firmness enough to prefer what is useful to what flatters and pleases. It was by the following arguments that they effaced all the impression which mine had made in his mind.

They told him, that the reasons I had urged to him tended only to engage him in an absurd imaginary system; that such refined maxims neither suited our times nor our manners; that probity and virtue alone signified nothing; that the chimera's with which I filled his imagination would be laughed at by all reasonable persons; that by thus aspiring to be the support of the whole nation, he would only incur a general hatred, and too late regret that he had not made a better use of so happy a conjuncture: that the only wise part for him to take, at a time when the royal treasures were going to become a public prey, was to claim the best and the largest portion of them for himself, as being, after their majesties, the first person in the kingdom*; that he had profited but little by the necessitous condition to which he had been reduced, if it had not taught him, that when an opportunity offered to extricate himself from it, it ought to be received with open arms: that he might be assured it was not so much for his interest as my own, that I endeavoured to throw him into a desperate party; that this was the only resource I had left to support my expiring credit: that by seeking to connect his interests with mine, I should drag him down the precipice with me: that the hatred of the nobles and the ministers against me was so great and invincible, that the bare suspicion of my having any in-

* "He would gladly," says the same historian I have just been quoting, "have contested the regency if he had dared; but he was diverted from it by the kind treatment he met with. He had a pension of two hundred thou-

sand livres given him, together with the palace of Conti, in the suburb of Saint-Germain, which had been bought for two hundred thousand francs, the county of Clermont, and many other gratifications."

fluence over him, was sufficient to ruin all his expectations and designs: that I had disdained to offer my friendship and services to any one; and, in revenge, all were so well agreed upon that one point, my ruin, that there was no condition which they would not accept from those who were going to have the disposal of all favours and rewards, provided my disgrace was annexed to it. 1610.

On occasions like these, when one has been able to render the advice suspected, the adviser is not far from being hated: this was what they undertook to accomplish, and they succeeded. They gave the prince to understand, that it was absolutely necessary for the system he was going to embrace, that my ruin should be resolved on: what I had said to him myself confirmed it to him; all my own words were turned against me; so that by a strange caprice of the mind (of which, however, politics have furnished more than one example) those very sentiments which but a moment before the prince had admired in my mouth, laid the foundation of that hatred he from thenceforward began to bear me, and of the persecution he raised against me. Then it was that the resolution was taken, not to suffer me to continue any longer in the ministry * than was necessary for their own schemes; and in the mean time to undermine, by degrees, what power I had still left, and to withdraw, without any seeming design, all the papers, memoirs, and instructions, relating to the finances, which were in my hands, till the moment arrived when I was to be dismissed for ever. If the execution of this plot was deferred till the following year, it was only because some unforeseen difficulties retarded it.

* All these intrigues amongst the princes, the courtiers, and the ministers, to get the duke of Sully removed, are related in particular memoirs, and especially in *L'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*, vol. I. p. 11, & seq. 120, 127, & seq. In the *History of the duke of Bouillon*, vol. II. p. 11 3 seq.

1610.

Probably I did not at that time know all the plots which were then secretly forming against me; but I guessed at so many of them, that I returned, with more earnestness than formerly, the resolution that I had endeavoured to make my family agree to, which was, to retire from court before I should appear to be forced from it: I even went so far as to mention my design to the queen regent, and intreated her not to oppose it. Although, by this proposal, I was doubtless answering all her views, yet she used such profound dissimulation in the answer she made me, that although I had suffered myself to be deceived, yet I think I could not have been accused of too great credulity. Conchini and his wife had never more influence over her than then: she began to be wholly governed by them; yet she pretended to be as much disgusted with their proceedings as I was myself: she endeavoured to persuade me that she was fully satisfied with my conduct; that she should be greatly perplexed if I abandoned her, at a time when the king's coronation would give her sufficient employment; and that it would take up all the remainder of the year, to prepare for the changes which my dismission from my employments must necessarily make in affairs. I accommodated myself to her will, without suffering my own to be altered; for though I continued to perform all the duties of my offices, yet I was so constantly upon my guard against the machinations of my enemies, that I would not leave them an opportunity of spoiling me themselves.

They at length came to a resolution with regard to the affair of Cleves: indeed it could not be longer delayed, if they had any desire to appear concerned in it. The army of the confederates, joined to that of the United Provinces, had laid siege to Juliers; and the prince of Orange, who commanded it, had taken such measures, that the place must of necessity fall into his hands. Our supplies were wholly useless to him, because the house of Austria had taken no step,
nor

nor set any troops on foot, to oppose her enemies: 1610. and after this exploit the war, as they proposed to carry it on, must be soon at an end. But the new council of the queen, composed of those persons I have already mentioned, thought they should shew a master-piece of policy, by granting them now more than what they had been so long and ineffectually soliciting. They knew the condition the besieged city was in, and they were desirous of having the honour of taking it, as it could not hold out long, after the arrival of our troops. They likewise imagined, that this would be an incitement to the king of Spain to solicit an alliance with us, for which they thought he did not shew eagerness enough; and they were ashamed to make all the advances themselves. It was resolved, therefore, that a body of eight thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, and eight pieces of cannon, should be immediately sent to Juliers; and that the command of this army should be given to the marechal de la Châtre.

When this determination was made public, and, for form's sake, laid before the general council, I could not hinder myself from speaking my sentiments of it freely. I desired to know for what end they were at the expence of this army, against enemies who did not defend themselves; and for allies who no longer needed our assistance? I declared my opinion of this unseasonable succour, which was not much for our honour. I represented to them the difficulties and delays to which our troops were exposed by this unnecessary march: and indeed, to perform it without having any thing to fear from the enemies they might meet in their journey, they must be obliged to go a great way about, and traverse rude, mountainous, and barren countries. Conchini, who had brought over the count of Soissons and the duke of Bouillon to his opinion, and who was satisfied with his own secret reasons, suffered me talk on, like a man whom they scorned to disclose their designs to: and the departure of the

1610.

troops was resolved on. However, to prevent any farther importunity from me, and to give me even a personal interest in this armament, they granted my son-in-law (who had long solicited a distinguishing employment in the German army) the post of field-marshal-general; which was likely to be so much the more acceptable, as this quality gave him an unquestionable right to command in chief, if any thing happened to the general. It was not impossible even that La-Châtre would, through some disgust, resign the command, as he had more than once been upon the point of doing. The difficulty of the roads alarmed him, as well as the dangers he might encounter in his march; and he also owned to me, and to some others of the council, that the Jesuits raised great scruples in his mind about joining the heretics against good catholics. However, I gave him a little courage, by telling him of a more convenient rout than that which he had designed to take; and he disposed himself to begin his march.

The preparations for this armament which fell to my charge, were made in such a manner, that the army was composed of the best troops we had then on foot; they had a complete train of artillery, well served; and the fund for the expences was so large, that the treasurer brought back an hundred thousand crowns. Prince Maurice acknowledged, that he had not for a long time seen a body of forces so fine and so well disciplined: he expressed some surprize, indeed, that the general, who by all appearances should be one of our best soldiers, had but a very slight knowledge of what was practised in sieges, and in other parts of war.

This is all that I shall say of this expedition: the historians * have given a more particular account of

* See an account of the taking of Juliers, and this expedition, in the *Merc Franç.* and other historians, ann. 1610.

The taking of Juliers obliged the Emperor to lay aside his design of sequestering, into the hands of the arch duke Leopold of Austria, the

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what happened in it, how our army passed into Germany, and how it returned. My fears of being too sincere upon this subject, and the very unuseful part I now began to act, obliges me to hasten towards the conclusion of these Memoirs. 1610.

territories that were in dispute; and the dukes of Brandenburg and Neuburg quietly shared the whole succession betwixt them: the elector of Brandenburg had Cleves, La-Mark, and Ravensberg; and the duke of Neuburg, Juliers and Bergh. Philip-Lewis, son of this duke of Neuburg, had two sons, of whom one continued the branch of Neuburg; and from the youngest, the counts of Sulzbach are descended; in whom the two branches are now going to be reunited, because the branch of Neuburg will determine in the present elector Palatine: and from hence, an hundred and thirty years after the death of duke William of Juliers, the same difficulties on this eventual succession are again likely to arise; the king of Prussia, of the house of

Brandenburg, being able to produce the following reason for his opposition to this reunion, that the two branches were separated when the treaty of 1666 was made, which seems only to stipulate for descendants of the contracting parties †; and the Emperor, on the other hand, finding it his interest to support the prince of Sulzbach; because if this young prince should happen to die without issue male, he would make use of his old pretence, of the male fief, as a reason for his taking possession of Juliers and Bergh; besides the interest he would have in it on account of the princes of Saxony, his allies.

There appeared a work in two volumes in 1738, wherein this matter is discussed and very well explained.

† This was written before the death of the last Emperor, and the last elector Palatine.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXIX.

1610.

THAT which had just passed with respect to Cleves, and the conduct of the queen regent with respect to me, took from me at length all hope of bringing back the court to just notions upon the two chief points of government, the conduct of foreign affairs, and the management of the finances: on the contrary, the changeableness of the prince, what I saw daily pass before my eyes, and, above all, the air of dissimulation which in the last place they had recourse to, convinced me that they would never get out of the confusion in which the affairs of the council seemed to be lost, but by such an extrication as I was always afraid of. In order to bring that about, some time was necessary; for connections so strong and so well cemented as those which the king had formed for the destruction of the house of Austria, with all those of the princes interested in its destruction, are not broke all at once, nor sometimes without a struggle which has mischievous consequences. But I have no reason to doubt but that the queen regent and her counsellors employed all their arts to make them ineffectual. That prejudice in favour of what they called the party of religion; the hatred they bore to all

1610.

all protestants, whether French or foreigners; a natural inclination, strengthened by habit, to unite with Spain, every impulse of which they could not help following publicly, when, the designs of Henry the Great becoming manifest, they were convicted of supporting a cause at once odious and desperate; it could not be expected that the force of these motives was abated, when, by an unexpected stroke, they found themselves upon the point of accomplishing what they had so ardently desired. My religion, my engagements, the advice I had given to the late king, of which at least the certain effect would have been the free exercise of the protestant religion in France, and in all Christendom, even the death of that prince, which seemed to declare me the only repository of his sentiments, and the executor of his designs, all the glory and honour of which must necessarily reflect upon me: these were their motives for hatred against a man who had already so many powerful enemies; and, by the care which Sillery and Villeroi took to enforce them, they could not fail of having a speedy effect.

Another, less openly declared, but probably stronger than all the others, because it directly attacked those private interests, united them all a second time against me. This was a too exact and too impartial administration of the finances, for persons whose avarice had already, in imagination, engrossed to themselves all the treasures of the late king. I have on this head, an infinite number of circumstances to relate, which certainly will not do any honour to the French name; but it would be to no purpose to be silent, since they are generally known. The reader then may here see some of the most important of them: they will serve to give him an idea of the court at that time.

I shall begin with the favourite of the queen-regent. He cast his eyes at first upon the post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber, not that this dignity was capable of satisfying his ambition, but it

was

1610.

was necessary to begin by obtaining a rank which might take away the disproportion that had hitherto been, between him and the other courtiers. To this motive was added some personal resentment against Bellegarde, the cause of which I shall not relate, because it would lead me into too long a discussion. It was highly flattering to the vanity of Conchini that the first step he was seen to take at court, should put him upon a par with his rival *: he therefore caused it to be proposed to the duke of Bouillon, to treat with him for this post. Bouillon, who really intended to sell it, readily accepted the proposal, and was well paid for his compliance; for, in the first place, he obtained a suppression of the offices established by his majesty in the neighbourhood of Sedan, for levying taxes upon all goods and merchandizes exported and imported; so that this gratuity may, without exaggeration, be said to be worth more to him than his whole principality. To this Conchini added two hundred thousand livres, under a pretence that he had been promised that sum upon surrendering his city. I represented to them that the duke of Bouillon had been exactly paid all that was promised him, and if they looked into the account, they would be convinced of it: but what I said was not regarded, and all the expence Henry had been at to get possession of Sedan, ended, in paying twice for the place, which after all was still in Bouillon's hands.

Conchini, however, did not effect his purpose so easily as he had imagined: the count of Soissons, as I have already hinted, opposed him, as well in that, as in his solicitations for the archbishopric of Tours; but he did it in such a manner as left him room to hope there was a possibility of gaining him; and Conchini soon found the means. He caused the government of Normandy to be given

* The marquis of Ancre (for so he began then to be called) had a difference with the master of the horse, the particulars whereof may be seen in the History of the Regency of queen Mary de Medicis.

to him, and to this end did not scruple to take it away from the second son of France. The late king, that he might avoid creating any jealousy among those who aspired to this government (which I had refused with the condition of changing my religion annexed to it) and willing to oblige Fervaques, who well deserved that he should have this consideration for him, had bestowed it upon his own son. It was not possible for me to give my assent to this action of Conchini's, or to the gratuity given by the council to the count of Soissons, at his majesty's expence, by purchasing, at a high price, some very inconsiderable claims which the house of Montassé had in Piedmont, of which mention has been already made. However, notwithstanding all my remonstrances, the bargain was concluded. It was now their custom to suffer me to talk, but to act without me.

Conchini found out a method how to dispose of part of the king's treasures, without its appearing that the sums raised by those means were received or employed for his use. This was by persuading the queen to continue the issuing of comptants* as the late king was used to do. She wrote the following letter to me upon this occasion, dated the 15th of June:

" Cousin,

" I am resolved, for one year more, to continue
 " the comptants for the payment of those sums
 " which the late king, my lord, ordered the trea-
 " surers of the exchequer to deposite in his privy

* The comptants were orders for payment of money, or receipts for sums paid by the king's order, without specifying in what manner the money so paid was employed. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. or their ministers, severely felt the abuses that might be made of them; but an infinite number of expences,

which interest of state required to be kept secret, prevented their being abolished. Cardinal de Richelieu determined to put an end to them, but in lieu thereof to leave a million of gold in the king's hands for his private expences, and to be disposed of at his pleasure. Test. Polit. Part II. p. 143.

1610. "purse: Béringhen shall distribute the money arising from hence to the same persons as formerly. I therefore send this to acquaint you that it is my desire you should direct the treasurer of the exchequer at present in office, to pay into the hands of the aforesaid Béringhen, the said comptant for the July quarter."

The next day Pugent and D'Argogues brought one of these comptants to me that I might settle it, and write underneath an order for the payment. I took it, and at the first glance did not observe that it contained any thing but a great number of sums which the late king caused to be paid in this form: but, the amount of the whole appearing to me to be excessive large, instead of looking any farther, I told the bearers that it was true the conduct of Henry IV. seemed to authorise this form, but that at present this writing did not appear to me to be any longer a sufficient discharge to him who should venture to give an order for its payment. They replied, that, if I would take the trouble to read to the end of the paper, I should find my objection removed by a discharge so valid, that I need not have recourse for it to any other person. I continued to read, being curious to know how a paper, which seemed to contain nothing more than the articles of a comptant, and that not very long, should produce a sum of nine hundred thousand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen sols, which I had seen by casting my eyes upon the sum total. My curiosity was soon satisfied. The two or three first articles were followed by others with which I was not greatly pleased, and which seemed only inserted there, in order to prepare me for a morsel still harder to digest. This was a single article of four hundred thousand livres, with no other explanation than these few words, which were not very likely to banish my scruples: "Paid into the hands of the late king."

I stopped short, and, looking earnestly upon Puget, asked him whether this ingenious trick was of his own invention; then resolutely told him, that the late king had never taken up so much money at once for his private purse: and that I had good proofs of his having never received this sum, either in part or the whole. He still continued to answer with the same indifference, That what I should see at the bottom would remove all difficulties. This was four or five lines, written by the queen herself, and in these terms: "We have examined the articles of the above comptant, amounting to nine hundred thousand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen sols, and know that this sum was really disbursed by the command of the late king, my lord, to be passed in the form of a comptant, as usual, which he was prevented from by death. We are satisfied that the said articles are all just, and order an acquittance of comptant to be expediated, to serve as a discharge for Puget, treasurer of the exchequer. Given at Paris, July 16, 1610, signed Mary."

It did not immediately occur to me what resolution it was proper for me to take; but, after a moment's reflection, "Monsieur Puget, said I, what I have read does not explain to me for what reason so large a sum is demanded of me; for I can never be persuaded that the late king received it. It is in vain therefore that you press me to sign it upon that supposition: you must therefore be satisfied with this paper, such as it is, for your discharge; for, you may depend upon it, I will add nothing to it." The affair did not rest there: they renewed their endeavours to obtain my signature with as much obstinacy as I refused it; for two whole days I was persecuted about this comptant; at last they left me in quiet, and it remained among the rest of my papers; but neither the queen regent or Conchini ever forgot it. The favourite thought
this

1610.

this but a bad example for those whom he was endeavouring to bring to a perfect conformity with all his desires: as for the queen, her resentment at my conduct on this occasion was so great, that she could not, with all her art, conceal it; and if, till then, she had at times made some slight reflections upon what the king her husband had often said to her of the great use I should be to her in the administration of affairs, from that moment all remembrance of it was erased, and gave place to a settled resolution to bestow my employments upon a person who would be more tractable.

The chancellor gave me an example of that sort of behaviour they expected; but, instead of following it, I could not help reproaching him one day with a fraud truly unpardonable, on occasion of a letter of exemption for the purchase of the registry of the parliament, and of the Châtelet of Paris, which was shown in full council, as having been expedited and sealed by the late king, although I knew that he had obstinately refused to grant it, notwithstanding Villeroi had, at different times, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon him. The law ordains, that, when the king dies, his seal shall be broken. This the chancellor not only neglected to do, but even dared to make use of it to authenticate several false regulations in favour of Conchini and some others, and continued this practice during five years after the king's demise, for which he had a double conveniency, as his son, who was secretary of state, forged all those writings, which he put the last hand to. Monsieur the admiral* received the assistance it gave him as if it came from heaven. He brought to be registered in the parliament letters patents for duke and peer for the lordship of Damville in as good, and perhaps better form than they would have had if Henry IV. had been living.

* Charles de Montmorency, duke of Damville.

I find a second letter from the queen regent of the same date with the former, but it was on a subject of less importance: It related to a breach which was to be repaired in the fortifications lately raised before the city and castle of Vendôme, at the desire of the sieur Jumeaux, who was governor of it. 1610.

It would have been very difficult, exposed as I was to frequent quarrels with the ministers and nobles, to have avoided one with the duke of Bouillon, who on all occasions gave me proofs that he had not forgot or pardoned my having always preferred the king's interest to his, and who only waited for some opportunity to shew his resentment of it. He one day proposed in the council, that all those who were in possession of the chief offices and employments in the kingdom, should be required to give in accounts of receipt and expence, to be examined there. The council received this proposal in the same spirit with him that made it; for, general as it seemed, yet it was levelled at me alone; and Bouillon undertook to give me notice of it, by saying to me, in full council likewise, that, being a man who loved method and exactness, and who was always desirous of setting others a good example, he did not doubt but that I would begin, by laying before the council those accounts that related to my post of grand master of the ordnance. I replied, in an accent and manner which possibly he did not expect, That whenever the king and queen were pleased to require it, I would lay my accounts before them, and with so much the more willingness, as I was well assured they would find nothing in them but what would be to their satisfaction, and my honour: that, in a minority, the princes of the blood represented the king's person likewise, therefore I would give them the same satisfaction; but that I was too well acquainted with the extent of the rights and privileges of my employment, not to know that, to make it accountable to any other tri-

1610. bunal, was to debase it. " Monsieur, replied the
 " duke, it appears to me that the constable and the
 " marshals of France having a right to take cogni-
 " zance of all affairs of the army, as they fall imme-
 " diately under their inspection by the nature of their
 " offices, so they may likewise of all posts and em-
 " ployments relating to it; and yours is one of the
 " chief of that kind." " I see plainly, Monsieur,"
 " returned I, without endeavouring to conceal my
 " resentment at this procedure, " that you have long
 " designed me this affront, and that you are artfully
 " seeking to support yourself with M. the constable,
 " whose quality, merit and years, I honour and
 " esteem, and for whose friendship I am greatly
 " obliged. I do not apprehend that any dispute will
 " arise between him and I upon this matter; but as
 " for you and all the others, I declare that I do not
 " think myself accountable to you in what regards
 " my office, but to the king alone." " At least,
 " Monsieur, replied the duke of Bouillon, you must
 " acknowledge, that, your patent being directed
 " to us, it implies that we have some degree of au-
 " thority there." " Monsieur, said I, you have
 " either read it very slightly, or but ill understood
 " what you read, since, if what you assert be true,
 " I am likewise accountable to the mayors, the she-
 " riffs, and the captains of the city-gates, in what
 " regards my employments, since the patent is di-
 " rected to them as well as to the marshalls and
 " governors of France; but, if you are really ig-
 " norant why those clauses are inserted, now know
 " from me, that it is in order that I may be assisted
 " by all those persons in whatever I require of them,
 " which carries rather an idea of superiority than
 " the contrary."

The queen, who found that the dispute was grow-
 ing warm, and that it might produce a quarrel be-
 tween us, imposed silence upon us both, and brought
 another question upon the carpet. Bouillon's flat-
 tery to the constable missed of the effect he proposed
 by

by it, for I was as much beloved by that nobleman for the services I had done him in some very difficult circumstances, as Bouillon, who had drawn him into those circumstances, was disliked by him. When the council broke up, he told the queen, in Bouillon's presence, that his claim was ill founded; then, addressing himself to the duke, he entreated him not to make any more attempts to engage him in his personal resentments and schemes of revenge. This quarrel made a great noise at court, because the friends of each party thought it incumbent upon them to engage in it. It was not here as in the council: my party was now greatly superior to his. The families of Guise, Longueville, and many others, declared themselves openly for me.

Nor did Conchini and his wife continue long to be in good intelligence with the ministers and the other chief persons of the state. It is the fate of connections, produced by a spirit of interest, that the same cause which gave them birth, destroys them with the greater facility. Hence followed a thousand scandalous scenes: they came openly to reproaches and abuses, which from some remains of decency, should have been stifled. As the whole court was actuated by the same spirit, it was soon filled with hatred, jealousy, and faction; none but base or criminal methods were employed in disputing for favours or in obtaining them; some old grudge or some new resentment embittered every mind, and the bloodiest catastrophes were often apprehended among persons of the highest rank: it became necessary to watch them continually, to prevent the fatal effects of their quarrels. The public was not ignorant of the motives which animated one against the other, all the princes of the blood, the constable, the master of the horse, the duke of Epernon, and many more. In these dissensions Conchini had always the greatest part*; sometimes, while the

* See the detail of these intrigues and court-quarrels in Siri, vol. II. p. 327, and in the same historians.

1610. ballance was held between these illustrious rivals, the favours they disputed for fell into the hands of mean inconsiderable persons. Discord, confusion, injustice, and fraud, all the evils which follow the contempt of subordination, poured in like a deluge upon the court and council, and more than once revenged the insulted memory of Henry the Great upon his domestic enemies, by those very means which they had made choice of to revenge themselves.

There was not any of the European powers who did not, by their ambassadors, acquit themselves of what they owed to this great king: but it was easy to distinguish among them, those who were more sincere in their compliments of congratulation for the accession of the new king to the throne, than in those of condolance for the loss of him whom he succeeded. There were found Frenchmen base enough to say to the ambassadors from the king of Spain and the archduke, these very words: "Your tears need not wet your handkerchiefs much; it was a stroke of providence that saved the king and the catholic religion from ruin." I shall say nothing of the reception that was given to these ambassadors.

My heart was too much removed from every sensation of joy, to allow me to have any part in the ceremony of the king's coronation*; therefore, while every other took the road to Rheims, I set out for Montrond, after having obtained the queen's permission to go to one of my country-houses. I carefully concealed my design of not returning again to Paris, at least while I saw the same dispositions among the courtiers, and the same disorder in affairs: but I had really taken this resolution, which was confirmed by my being attacked with a violent illness immedi-

* The ceremony is very minutely described in the *Merc. Franc.* the Royal MSS. P. Mat. thieu, &c. anno 1610. It was performed the 17th of October.

ately after I arrived at Montrond, and which I could attribute to no other cause, but to the painful situation my heart had been in for four months. It was here also, that to calm the perturbations of my mind, I composed those two little pieces of poetry, one of which is intituled, A Parallel between Cæsar and Henry the Great; and the other, An Adieu to the court*.

1610.

If this Adieu was not the last, it was not my fault: I saw very plainly that I could not remain there. The secret council held at the house of the nuncio, which I have already mentioned, was continually recurring to my mind. To this I added some words which a princess, my relation and my friend, told me she had heard said to the queen at the same time. Many other circumstances of this nature filled my mind with the strongest forebodings that the whole protestant church was at the eve of a persecution. By a letter which Préaux wrote to me from Châtelleraut, dated November 10, he seemed to be of the same opinion; "Already, says he, I fancy I see the theatre raised to renew our tragedies." With this melancholy expectation, my resolution was already settled, to dispose of all my employments to those persons who should be recommended to me by Conchini and his wife, as money seemed to be cheapest with them. I intended to send one third of the sums raised by these sales to Switzerland, another to Venice, and another to Holland, where I proposed to retire myself, when the storm appeared ready to break out, with all the money that by good œconomy I had saved out of my yearly revenue. Thus had I regulated my affairs; and that I made any alteration in this plan, was owing to the following circumstance.

That jealousy and misunderstanding which sub-

* These pieces are recited in Sully's Memoirs, at the end of the first volume, p. 469.

1610. sifted among the nobles and persons in office, rendered the ceremony of the coronation so tumultuous and disorderly, that it was expected some dangerous consequences would follow. I do not speak here of their disputes for rank and precedence only. The duke of Epernon, although for some years past, as it appeared, intimately connected with Conchini, yet one day, in concert with the duke of Eguillon, used language to him equally severe, injurious, and threatening, and this in public. The duke of Nevers, supported by the princes of the blood, treated Villeroi, Sillery, and Jeannin, in the same manner: they were seized with consternation and fear; they found that they had not power, and, doubtless, felt they were not innocent enough to repel these reproaches; and now began to be sensible of the need they had of me. It might have dangerous consequences, if the princes and nobles were suffered to go on in reproving the ministers of state. I appeared to them to be the only man capable of putting things upon another footing, by the authority, the respect, and even the awe, which my birth, my character, and my manners, had acquired me in the council; and they so earnestly solicited the queen to make use of her influence over me, to oblige me to return, that she sent me by an express the following letter.

“ Cousin,
 “ The coronation of the king, monsieur my son,
 “ being happily performed at Rheims, we shall in
 “ a short time set out for Paris; and because many
 “ affairs that require your presence, on account of
 “ your employments, and the great abilities you
 “ have shewn in the exercise of them, will be trans-
 “ acted the latter end of this year, and the be-
 “ ginning of the next, I desire you will return to
 “ Paris with all possible haste, that we may find
 “ you there upon our arrival. So, in full assur-
 “ ance

"ance that you will not fail, I beseech God, &c. 1610.

"Written at Rheims, October 6, 1610.

"Your good cousin,

"MARY."

I imagined, that by eluding this journey for the present, they would think no more of it; therefore my answer to the queen was conceived in these terms:

"Madam,

"My inclination, my duty, and the honour you
"do me, by remembering me, are all motives
"equally strong to engage my obedience to your
"majesty's commands; but a dangerous illness,
"from which I am but lately recovered, has left
"me in so weak a condition, and the certain know-
"ledge I have, that my presence in the council is
"not agreeable to several persons, who have more
"authority there than I have, oblige me most
"humbly to intreat you, not to be offended that I
"delay going to court till I have recovered my
"strength; and that when I do attend your ma-
"jesty there, you will permit me, before those per-
"sons whom you shall please to appoint, to give
"you an account of my administration, to lay be-
"fore you the state in which I leave the affairs of
"the kingdom, and the form I think necessary to
"be observed to keep them in the same order and
"tranquility they are now. I must beg your ma-
"jesty to believe that this will be the sole end of
"my journey, and that I have no intention to de-
"sire to concern myself any farther in the admini-
"stration of affairs. I believe I have settled every
"thing relating to my employments in such a
"manner as the secretaries of the Exchequer and
"the other officers can certify to your majesty,
"that my presence may be dispensed with till the
"latter end of the year; at which time, if my
"health

1610. "health will permit me, I shall not fail to go to
 "Paris, to pay all possible obedience to the king's
 "commands and yours; and upon this truth, I
 "beseech the Creator, &c. From Montrond,
 "October 12, 1610."

This was not what the queen proposed to herself from the step she had taken to recal me; she perceived, that by delaying my return to court, I was only forming excuses for appearing there no more; or that if I did come, the part I should play there would not be very proper to oblige those who had deserted her favourite, again to solicit his friendship, which was all she had in view; and to effect this, she made use of all my friends*, my wife, my son, and my son-in-law particularly: she began by an insinuating and gracious behaviour to them; shewed such an unreserved confidence in me, added so many kind expressions, and promises so flattering to their hopes, that they were now more than ever confirmed in their belief, that I should commit a great error by laying down my employments. She afterwards sent them, one after the other, to me, charged with the most obliging letters, and the fullest assurances of her favour and esteem. I endeavoured, but in vain, to make them sensible, that all this was deep art on the queen's side; their solicitations, their intreaties, became persecution, which at length fatigued me so much, that being desirous of avoiding reproaches, to which I saw no end, and considering likewise that my compliance with requests thus earnestly urged, would expose me to no inconveniences for the present, I resolved to throw myself, though fairly warned of my danger, into all the snares that were laid for me at court, and again postponed the execution of my first design.

* "Bouillon had orders to go
 "to him (M. de Sully) at Paris,
 "on his return from his country-
 "seat, and to assure him of the
 "queen's regard for him, and that

"she would place the same con-
 "fidence in him the late king had.
 "He accepted the queen's offer,
 "&c." Hist. de la Mere et du
 Fils, vol. I. p. 112.

I there-

I therefore set forwards to Paris, but shewed no great eagerness to get there, since I did not reach that city till the sixteenth day after my departure from Montrond. The next morning, as I was preparing to go and pay my respects to the king and the queen regent, I was informed, that the king would pass the whole forenoon in the Tuilleries, and that the queen was to dine at Zamet's. I did not doubt but that my attending her there would be very acceptable to her; and indeed she received me in the most gracious manner imaginable: she several times repeated, with an air of freedom and even pleasure, by which I myself was almost imposed upon, that she would follow no other counsels but mine. She intreated me to attach myself to her son, as I had done to the late king: she told me, that she would not suffer me to lay down my employments; that she would take such measures, that I should execute them in an absolute independence; and desired me to begin with the accounts of the finances for the year 1611, as I used to do; none of the ministers having shown themselves willing to take this care upon them during my absence, and she herself being desirous that I should continue to discharge it. The queen continued her discourse till dinner was served: I can relate only a small part of it. When she rose from table, she entertained me with the disputes that had happened during the coronation: she informed me, that the nobles had made an infinite number of demands, but that she had resolved to conclude nothing till my return: however, she avoided saying any thing particular on this head, but only told me, that she would talk to me more fully the first opportunity, and would let me know what were the services she required of me on this occasion: these words seemed wholly free from reserve. The whole court appeared so gay, that it was but too probable this serious conversation was extremely disagreeable; accordingly it gave place to others more common; and

1610.

1610. and at three o'clock the queen returned to the Louvre.

I went thither the next day, to pay my respects to the king, to the princes his brothers, and the princesses his sisters. This part of the court was still untainted; the governesses, the nurses, the other women and officers, which composed the household of these young princes, formed a kind of separate people, to whom the memory of king Henry was still dear: the source of their tears and lamentations were not yet dried up; I wept with them, while we talked of that good prince; they conjured me, by every motive which they thought could make any impression upon my mind, by the friendship Henry had for me, by my attachment to him, not to abandon the children of a father to whom I had now no other way of acquitting myself of what I owed him. Their intreaties and their tenderness could add nothing to those sentiments of gratitude and affection which filled my heart, and, to our mutual misfortune, could not increase my power of serving them. Upon my attentively viewing the three princes, I thought I discovered in the countenance and behaviour of the young king, strong indications of those happy dispositions which time has since ripened and disclosed. I imparted my thoughts to my wife when I returned home; but it was with grief that I judged, heaven would not give a long life to the second of these princes*.

I was visited by almost the whole court, with all those false shews of friendship, those praises and civilities, which never so nearly resemble the true, as when the heart has the least share in them. Conchini, who had taken care to have it insinuated to me by Zamet and D'Argouges, that he was the person to whom

* This prince died the 16th or 17th of November in the next year, at the age of four years and an half: a quantity of water was found in his head; the too great thickness of the skull stopping the perspiration in that part; which proved the innocence of Le-Maitre, physician to the children of France, who was accused of having poisoned this young prince. *Merc. Franç. ann. 1611. p. 138.*

I was

I was most obliged for the gracious reception I had met with from the queen, and for her kind intentions towards me, waited three whole days in expectation that I should acknowledge this favour, by making him a complimentary visit; which the courtiers had accustomed him to look upon as a tribute due to his great influence and authority; or that I should at least send some person to discharge this duty for me. However, as he neither saw me, nor received any message from me, he condescended at length to make me a visit: but that I might not assume too much upon a step by which he conceived that he degraded himself, he was very careful to make me sensible that he came only upon his own business: and indeed our conversation turned chiefly upon his post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber; upon his pensions, which the queen had ordered should be carried to account in the same manner as those of Bellegarde; and upon a gift which he had lately received out of the offices of the gabelle in Languedoc, for which he had a brevet, obtained before the late king's death; but this I did not think proper to mention to him. I thought my answers to all this were not calculated to inspire him with any inclination to quit the subject he was upon, and for which he said he had come to me; yet he could not help it: but I believe it was not long before he repented it; for having slid in, by way of advice, that the best thing I could do, would be to comply with the queen in all things, and accommodate myself wholly to her will (which was tacitly charging me with ruining my own affairs by my obstinacy) I made him this short and severe answer, That I would pay an exact obedience to all the commands of the queen regent, when they were for the service of the king, the advantage of affairs, and the relief of the people; and when my honour and my conscience told me I might do it, without prejudicing either. Every word he uttered seemed to increase the aversion I had to him: he added some-

1610. something more, but with that caution which my behaviour to him seemed to authorise. I answered with equal coldness and reserve, and we parted very ill satisfied with each other; he, I believe, with fewer hopes than ever of moulding me to his purpose; and I full of grief at the advancement of those misfortunes which this presumptuous insatiable man, without abilities, without experience, yet invested with an absolute authority, was bringing upon France.

It appeared to me, from the day after this conversation, that things were greatly altered: the queen, whom I went to wait upon at the Louvre, seemed to have lost much of her former graciousness; yet she constrained herself to preserve some appearance of it, that the alteration might not be too remarkable, and to hinder me from imputing it to the conversation I had the day before with Conchini: she again mentioned to me the importunate demands of the *grandees*, taxed them with extravagance, and seemed resolved to refer them to the council; at which she desired I would always be present, to take care that nothing passed there contrary to the interest of the king and the state. She promised me, upon her royal word, presenting her hand at the same time to me, that she would support me there as strenuously as the late king had done. I lost all my suspicions at this declaration; I flattered myself for a moment that this princess, having seriously reflected on all that had lately happened, was become sensible of the danger of pursuing those measures they wanted to engage her in; but I was soon undeceived.

Prepared as I was for irregular proceedings, I could not, without extreme surprize, see, that scarcely any business was transacted in the council, but what related to gifts to the nobles, to augmentations of the pensions to persons in office, the paying of debts which had been abolished, the abatement of farms, and discharges of the farmers, and revocations of the

the contracts made for the rents, registries, and domains; creation of new offices, exemptions, and privileges; in a word, a thousand schemes to render the people miserable, instead of applying the treasures amassed by the late king to their relief, as in justice ought to have been done; since the circumstances of affairs were so changed, that the design for which they were raised could not be executed: but the rapaciousness of the great lords would have swallowed sums far more considerable. Here follow the demands, which the chief amongst them endeavoured to oblige the queen and the council to grant them. It must not be expected here, that this article can extend itself into a list, as I am afraid the other will appear, though I have cut off the demand of trebling and doubling the pensions, as a matter common to almost all the articles. 1610.

At the head of this list I shall put M. the prince, who caused me to be solicited sometimes openly, sometimes in a covert manner, to support his pretensions to the government of Château-Trompette, to that of Blaye, and to the principality of Orange, extended as far as the borders of the Rhone. The count of Soissons demanded the government of the old palace of Rouen, that of the castle of Caën, and that an edict on linen cloth should be created for his profit, which I have mentioned in its place. The duke of Lorraine demanded the payment of the whole sum expressed in his treaty, although I had settled this affair a long time ago, when it was agreed, that that sum should be reduced two thirds. The duke of Guise solicited for a marriage between himself and madame de Montpensier; for the revocation of the rights of patents in Provence, and of offices for collecting the duties at the gates of Marseilles; he demanded likewise that his debts should be paid. The duke of Maine demanded other sums, besides those expressed in his treaty. D'Eguillon, a gift of thirty thousand crowns; the government of Bresse, and the city of Bourg;

1610. Bourg; and the embassy of Spain, with excessive appointments. Joinville, the government of Auvergne, or the first that became vacant. The duke of Nevers demanded the property of the gabelles of Réthelois, with the governments of Mézieres and Saint-Monchout. The duke of Epernon, a body of infantry kept constantly on foot; the reversion of his government for his son; fortifications to be raised at Angoulême and at Xaintes; Metz, and the county of Messin, taken from Montigny. The duke of Bouillon demanded a sum of money, for the payment of old debts, which he pretended were due to him; the aids, tailles, and gabelles, of the viscounty of Turenne, to his use; and that the homage of this viscounty should be reduced to a simple homage: the arrears of his garrisons and his pensions during his exile; the right of holding general assemblies of the reformed religion. The chancellor demanded the money arising from the petty seals, his salary to be doubled, and letters of nobility in Normandy. Villeroi demanded, that a garrison should be maintained at Lyons, the royal lieutenancy of the province taken from Saint-Chaumont; a marshal's staff for his son D'Alincourt; the repeal of a bargain which I had made for the repurchase of the crown lands in that province, and the mortgages of his registries and upon the king's lands.

It will be easily imagined that Conchini's demands were not less considerable than those of any other; a marshal's staff, the governments of Bourg, Dieppe, and Pont-de-l'arche; a donation of the money produced by the offices of the gabelle of Languedoc, passed in the form of a comptant; the profit arising from the reduction made upon public works, granted to Moisset and to Feydeau: this was his portion. Châteauvieux, the chevalier de Sillery, Dollé, Déagent, Arnaud the intendant, Duret the physician, all the members of the queen's private council, who solicited so well for others, did not forget their

own affairs. It would be almost the same thing to 1610.
enumerate all those persons of any quality who had
a share in this profuse distribution of pensions, gra-
tuities, privileges, appointments, &c. as to name
those who are comprehended in this list, for every
one had some claim there; the princes, governors
of provinces, the lieutenant-civil, the Prevot des
Marchands, and even the societies and sovereign
courts; all the officers of the crown were to have
their pensions augmented twenty-four thousand livres
each; and the salaries of every member of the
council raised in proportion, and their number to
be considerably increased. In a word, there seemed
to be a general conspiracy to pillage the royal trea-
sure, which was now considered as a lawful prize.

The indignation which I felt in myself against a
licentiousness that degenerated into an attempt upon
the royal authority, would not permit me to exa-
mine, whether the resolution I had taken, singly to
oppose this multitude of rapacious courtiers, was
absolutely prudent; but this nothing could persuade
me from doing, while the place I held in the coun-
cil authorised such a conduct. My honour, my con-
science, my reputation, which I was called upon to
support; the interest of the king and the people,
whose only defender I considered myself; would not
permit me to attend to my own safety: the last
words, nay, the intreaties of the queen regent,
gave me a right to oppose them; and though I was
very sensible that she did not desire I should under-
stand them literally, yet, all things considered, I
was going to render her a service so essential, that
she could not, or ought not to disavow it: and yet
I had another motive, which I will not scruple to
declare, since I would have my most secret senti-
ments known to the reader. That desire of glory,
that self-love, which, when under the direction of
reason and justice, has always appeared to me to have
something great and noble in it; self-love, I say,
dictated to me, that since, sooner or later, I must
necessarily

1610. necessarily be removed from the ministry, I should risk but little by hastening the moment of my dismissal; and that I should gain a great deal by giving a convincing proof, that this disgrace would not have happened to me, had I not opposed the unjustifiable measures I saw pursued by the council, and disdained the servile compliance of the rest of the courtiers: there remains to unhappy virtue this last recompence for the disappointment of its good designs, that it shines with redoubled splendor amidst opposition and persecution.

The queen soon left me only this consolation in the painful labours I began to sustain; all her conduct served to shew me, that she had only recalled me to Paris, and opposed me to the whole court at this tumultuous time, to reduce me to the fatal alternative of incurring the public contempt if I betrayed my duty, or particular enemies (which was still more to be dreaded) if I discharged it. A demand, which I had rendered of no effect in full council, at the risk of making myself a thousand cruel and implacable enemies, was afterwards privately granted as a gratuity by this princess and her confidant.

It is not my design to give a detail of all the schemes that, during this short time, were set on foot in the council, nor of what was said or done to render them ineffectual; it would be, in reality, to describe so many suits, where, as in law, they did not fail to make use of all the methods commonly practised to corrupt a judge too rigidly just, and against which I was so much the more incited to exclaim, as they attempted likewise to carry their point, either by secret plots or by open cabals. I shall give the reader one example, which will serve to shew, that the evil was great enough to demand remedies no less violent than those I made use of. The article relating to Villeroy, or rather to D'Alincourt, is not the least curious or important of those which the reader has already had some account of.

When D'Alincourt demanded, that a strong gar- 1610.
 rison should be placed in the city of Lyons, of
 which he was governor, and maintained at the king's
 expence, he had two ends to answer by it; one was,
 to increase his income, by the profits arising from
 this garrison; for indeed he had occasion for great
 riches, to enable him to live as he proposed to do,
 not merely as a marshal of France (a dignity which
 he expected to be raised to in a very little time) but
 with the state and retinue of a prince: vain pagean-
 try! and doubly ridiculous in one who had only
 large possessions to supply the disadvantages of a
 mean birth. The other was, to compel the Lyon-
 nois, by the terror with which so many forces would
 inspire them, to sacrifice to him their most ancient
 rights and privileges, which for a long time he
 had a design to fall upon. As for the treaty made
 for the redemption of the royal domain, which in
 that province amounted to twelve hundred thousand
 livres, he was inclined to demand the suppression of
 it, because those that were concerned in that affair
 secured to him a present of an hundred thousand
 livres, if he could by any means hinder that re-
 demption from taking place.

His designs, however, were crossed by two vigi-
 lant enemies, these were, the whole city of Lyons,
 and Saint-Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in that
 province; but to these he opposed the chancellor
 Sillery, and Villeroi his father, both very powerful
 in the council, and in high favour with the queen;
 these he set on to solicit for him, and with the more
 eagerness, because he found by my discourse, when
 he came to intreat me to be favourable to his pre-
 tensions, that he could not depend upon me in the
 council, before whom these demands were to be
 laid; he saw plainly, that he would have occasion
 for all his batteries; but he did not doubt of his
 success, when he was informed that his father and
 Sillery had brought over Conchini to his party, who

1610. afterwards prevailed upon the queen to espouse it likewise.

We were all assembled in the great closet, where a council was to be held upon this affair, when the queen came up and spoke to me in favour of D'Alincourt: I told her majesty, with great frankness, that she must not expect I would give my vote for a compliance with two such unjust proposals; that it was not reasonable the king should lose twelve hundred thousand livres, to put one hundred thousand in the pocket of Mr. D'Alincourt; that this was to open the way for every one else to get the like treaties for redemption of the domain, and other parts of the royal revenue, which amounted to near fifty millions, revoked over all the kingdom; that I would as strenuously oppose his other demand, although I knew it would be alledged, that the council had no right to take cognisance of it, and that it was only laid before it to get the first authorised; that by these measures we were going to expose one of the chief cities of the kingdom, hitherto well affected and loyal, to the danger of violating their allegiance, merely to gratify an unreasonable request, since by the last treaty, which I myself had concluded with cardinal Aldobrandin for the duke of Savoy, his majesty being to keep possession of Bresse, and of both the borders of the Rhone, Lyons was no longer a frontier city, and having no more neighbours to fear, had no farther occasion for a garrison in it.

The queen seemed to be satisfied with these reasons, and turned towards Villeroi, as if to make him approve of them likewise; but he was not so easily repulsed, he gave her reasons in answer to mine, some good and some bad; and when he came to the article of the garrison, he told her, that it was indeed true, the Spaniards and Savoyards were not such near neighbours of this city as formerly, therefore it was not against their attempts that it was
necessary

necessary to secure the city of Lyons, since they were moreover upon the point of becoming our friends and allies, but that the true enemies to be feared were the huguenots, who being now in a better condition, had probably a greater inclination than ever to make an attempt upon that city; he named Lefdiguieres in particular, as one from whom most danger was to be apprehended. 1610.

Berengueville overheard what Villeroi said to the queen, and repeated every word to me: this confirmed to me the truth of what I had heard concerning the secret council held at the house of Ubal dini, the Pope's nuncio. I saw with indignation, that the sole view of these gentlemen was to set the catholics and protestants in France at variance, as well as in all Europe. I was no less shocked at Villeroi's accusation of a man allied to my family, and rising up hastily, I went towards the queen, who was still listening to him, and told her, that I had forgot to forewarn her of a thing which I was as well assured of as if I had been a witness of it; and this was, that Villeroi, in his design of rendering her favourable to his son's pretensions, cared but little by what means this was brought about; and did not scruple to make the false and most malignant representations against the protestants, without even excepting one, whom a thousand great and good services ought to place out of the reach of suspicion; that his malice went so far as to treat them as enemies, whom France had more reason to fear than Spain itself; that if her majesty, judging Villeroi's arguments and mine to be of equal weight, should resolve to behold the protestants and the Spaniards in the same light, nothing remained for her to do (and I looked stedfastly upon him) but to exclude us both from the council. This was a severe stroke upon Villeroi; but this man, who had neither abilities to speak in public, nor knew how to give his vote in the council, had not a single word to say in answer to me; indeed his surprise, and

1610. the secret reproaches of his own conscience, might well render him dumb upon this occasion: all he did was to go to that part of the room where the chancellor and the duke of Epernon were conferring together; and the queen also, quitting her place without answering me, went to join the count of Soissons and marechal Brissac, who were talking in private. I foreboded no good from these several connexions.

Nothing was done this day in D'Alincourt's affair, and I sometimes flattered myself that the measures I had taken would hinder it from being resumed; but it was only put off till his father and himself, the chancellor and his brother, by new cabals with Conchini and the counsellors, secured all the votes in their favour, even that of Bethune my brother, who came to me with an intention to make one effort more to soften me: he represented to me, that my opposition was in vain, and would have no other consequence but to bring every body upon my back; that I should have the mortification to see that my example would not be followed even by my nearest relations. I replied, that I never expected any thing else from him, but that I was absolutely determined to continue to the end faithful in the performance of my duty: and I kept my word, for in the first council that was held on this occasion, seeing that the counsellor to whose charge it fell that day was ready to make his report, I asked him hastily, what was the business? he replied, that it related to some proposals which were to be made concerning the domain in Lyonnais. I interrupted him, saying that I was well assured D'Alincourt, who was most interested in that affair, had formed so strong a party for him in the council, by the mediation of his friends and relations, that it was already resolved on, even before it was laid before it; but that I protested against it, as being absolutely contrary to his majesty's interest; and that I desired a certificate of my protestation from
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the clerk, to send it to the parliament to be registered there, in order that this writing might one day serve to show the king the bad conduct pursued by his council after the death of the king his predecessor*.

* This account perfectly agrees with what is said in *L'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*: "The duke of Sully, says that historian, continued to exercise his office for a fortnight or three weeks after the coronation was performed, at which time the disputes on account of the Swiss at Lyons, which I have spoke of before, were renewed, because Villeroi wanted to have their pay charged on the general receipts of that city. The duke of Sully was so much out of temper on this score, that, not content with maintaining, it was unreasonable to load the king with so great an expence, when the inhabitants of Lyons were sufficient to keep guard themselves, as they had always been used to do: he also treated the chancellor, who sided with Villeroi, roughly, telling him, they were all agreed amongst themselves to ruin the king's affairs. As this was an affront to all these ministers in common, they joined their endeavours to ruin the duke, the harshness of whose temper was not to be softened." This writer afterwards relates the several steps that were taken to unite the ministers with the count of Soissons, the marquis of Ancre, the marquis of Cœuvres, and others, against the duke of Sully. As this author is one of the duke of Sully's enemies, I quote him on purpose to confirm the truth of what the duke says, that he might have kept his posts, if he would have joined in the measures of the new council; and that his perseverance in the support of justice, the public interest, and the late king's plan of government, was the cause

of his disgrace. All men of sense have not, however, given the same judgment on his inflexibility with the author I am speaking of, though all the enemies of that minister have agreed with him in it. In the appendix to the *Merc. Franç.* for the year 1610, p. 9. we find an entire discourse on this subject, which justifies him in a manner extremely to his honour. The *Memoirs de Villeroi*, vol. III. p. 259. also speaks of him in the following manner: "The change which the said sieur de Sully made in the condition of France, by retrieving her from a state of indigence, and rendering her rich and opulent, by his œconomy and industry, sufficiently proves his abilities: his free remonstrances to the king, and his opposition to all great men, discover his probity; and his having been able to stand his ground amongst so many enemies, without sinking under his own apprehensions, or their threats, shews how great were his prudence and courage; even those who envy him are compelled to own, that he alone is more useful to the public, and has more knowledge of business, than all the rest together; and provided he would abate a little of his austerity, he would be a servant worthy of your majesty. Tho' they endeavour to keep him from having any concern in the management of affairs, yet that cannot stop him from freely speaking his sentiments of the little respect paid to the memory of the late king, and of the small deference shewn to our young prince," &c. See also the manuscript discourse cited by us in the preface to this work,

1610.

These last words, which, it must be granted, were very severe, had no other effect, than to suspend, for a short time, the deliberation they were preparing for. No one replied; a general consternation seized all that were present: the chancellor alone, without shewing any emotion, said to the counsellor, "Lay other papers before us, and let us proceed to affairs of a different kind; we shall find a time for this when these heats and animosities are over, as it generally happens in things that are most contested." The counsellor obeyed; the other matters were discussed; D'Alincourt's demand, when it was next laid before the council, was granted without opposition: but this was not till I myself was banished from the board; which happened in so short a time afterwards, that it may be said it was by this vigorous effort I finished my career.

I had now no other part to take but to retire from court. I had given sufficient proofs to all France, that it was not for want of the most strenuous efforts on my side that the affairs of the state were plunged into disorder: it was become impossible for me to apply any remedy to the increasing evil. This no one doubted of: I struggled to no purpose; and all that I had for the price of my labours and my good intentions, was the hatred of those persons whose interest it would have been to second them: Conchini employed his favour, the princes of the blood their authority, the other persons in office their credit, only to render me odious. I saw nothing preparing for me for the future, but new mortifications and other troubles. All my actions, my words, nay, my silence itself, witnessed against persons who were inwardly struck with the injustice of these reproaches. My post of superintendant of the finances was eagerly coveted by two princes of the blood, each of whom was made to hope that he should gain it when I was driven from court. By staying there too long, I exposed myself to the danger

1610.

danger of being violently dispossessed of all my other employments. Those of my friends, who were most sincere, and best knew the plots that were forming against me, were continually giving me counsels which I was convinced deserved to have more weight with me, than the solicitations of some of my relations, who were either carried away by a mistaken tenderness for me, or a regard to their own interest. I therefore resolved to defer no longer the resignation of my two employments of superintendant of the finances, and governor of the Bastile, which were the most panted after, as by them they could dispose of the revenues and treasures of the king, hoping to purchase by this sacrifice, which might have still some appearance of being voluntary, the confirmation of all my other dignities *, which it was not in the power of my enemies to deprive me of, especially if I took the precaution of removing for ever out of their sight an object which could never fail of re-animating their hatred, by the effect of a jealousy unavoidable, while I continued amongst them; and, that I might do all at once, I fixed myself in a resolution to quit the court, and Paris itself, at the same time that I resigned all further share in the administration of affairs.

I prepared to execute this design on the beginning of the year 1611 †. The queen appeared desi-

* The duke of Sully at that time bore the following titles: Maximilian de Béthune, knight, duke of Sully, peer of France, sovereign prince of Henrichemont and Boisselle, marquis of Rosni, count of Dourand, lord of Orval, Montrond, and St. Amand, baron of Espineuil, Bruyeres-le-Châtel, Villebon, La-Chapelle, Noivion, Bagnay, and Bontin, chancellor to the king in all the councils, captain-lieutenant of two hundred gens d'armes under the queen's command, grand master and captain-general of the artillery, surveyor-general of France, superintendant

of the king's finances, fortifications, and buildings, governor, and the king's lieutenant-general of the provinces of Poitou, Châteleraud, and Laudun, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and captain of the castle of the Bastile.

† Here follow several accounts of this event, very different one from the other: "The year 1611 was begun with the retirement of M. de Sully, who at the instigation, and by the intrigues of the two princes of the blood, was drove from the management of affairs. The superintendence of the finances and the

1610. rous of opposing it; but this was only for form's sake. Here follows the letter she wrote to me upon this occasion.

" Cousin,

" I hear, with concern, that you have taken a resolution to discharge yourself of the care of the king my son's affairs, particularly of those relat-

" custody of the king's treasures, were taken from him. The queen also took the Bastile out of his hands, and gave the custody thereof to M. de Châteauneuf (it should be Châteauneuf). The finances were put under the direction of Messrs. de Châteauneuf, the president De-Thou, and Jeannin: but the last was also made comptroller-general of the finances, which threw the sole management of them into his hands, to the exclusion of the other two, who assisted only in the direction." Bassompierre's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 308.

" The 24th of this month (January) M. de Sully quitted the Arsenal. There is a report that a brevet is issued to appoint him marshal of France, with a grant of some thousands of crowns as a recompence to him. He has voluntarily resigned the direction of the finances, *tantum é speculo prævidens tempestatum futuram.*" Journal de L'Etoile, page 256.

" The prince of Condé and the count of Soissons spoke the first of it to the queen, the ministers seconded them, and the marquis of Ancre gave him the finishing stroke. Thus he found himself under the necessity of retiring in the beginning of February, &c." Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, Vol. I. p. 235.

" Some have written that the duke of Sully, shortly after the reconciliation of the count of Soissons and the duke of Guise,

" voluntarily resigned into the queen's hands, as well the Bastile, as the superintendancy of the finances. Others say, that making an offer to the queen to give up all his posts, he was taken at his word: others have spoken differently of it. He himself says the contrary in the letter he wrote to the queen, which was printed shortly after." Merc. Franç. anno 1611.

This letter is afterwards recited, but is not mentioned in Sully's Memoirs. The Memoirs of the regency of Mary de Medicis, Vol. I. p. 57, dissents also from the foregoing accounts, asserting that the duke of Sully earnestly solicited the queen to dismiss him, which she with great reluctance consented to.

There may possibly be some truth in both these opinions: That is, that the duke of Sully would, out of question, have freely consented to keep his posts, provided he could have enjoyed them with the same authority, tho' not with the same satisfaction, as under the late king: but the efforts he made for that purpose alienated the queen, the great men, and the ministers from him, and at last encreased his disgust, as he found all his endeavours would be in vain. There is nothing in Matthieu's account discordant with this notion: on the contrary, he agrees to what is said in these Memoirs. "The duke of

" Sully, says he, after the death of Henry the Great, immediately saw he should not possess the same authority under the new

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“ ing to the finances, contrary to the hope I had con- 1610.
 “ ceived, that you would continue to perform the
 “ duties of that employment as you did in the time
 “ of the late king my lord. I entreat you to think well
 “ of this design before you put it into execution, and
 “ let me know your last determination, that I may
 “ regulate mine upon it. So beseeching God, &c.

Paris, Jan. 24, 1611.

My answer to this letter being such as the queen probably expected, she sent Bouillon to me two days afterwards with the brevets of discharge from my two employments, of superintendant of the finances and governor of the Bastile, in the most

“ reign as he did under the last ;
 “ and that the enmity of the count
 “ of Soissons would bring on his
 “ ruin. As the direction of the
 “ finances had already been taken
 “ from him, the queen was advised
 “ to deprive him also of the Bas-
 “ tile. This was esteemed so bold
 “ a step, that it was said Henry the
 “ Great would not have dared to
 “ have taken it for fear of stirring
 “ up those of the duke's religion to
 “ resent it. She, nevertheless, saw
 “ him readily obey her command
 “ to resign the Bastile to Château-
 “ vieux, one of her knights of ho-
 “ nour. Had he made any oppo-
 “ sition, some of the great men
 “ at court, who were afraid his
 “ steadiness might be drawn into
 “ precedent, would have rendered
 “ this dismissal more difficult. As
 “ soon as he was stripped of this of-
 “ fice, he saw the prejudice result-
 “ ing from his having so easily
 “ submitted ; and desired the
 “ queen's permission to go to
 “ Rosny, saying he would not stay
 “ there above three days. When
 “ he was there those of his religion
 “ cautioned him not to go back
 “ to court, where he had been so
 “ ill-treated. His wife and brother
 “ on the contrary urged him to re-
 “ turn, and he did so accordingly ;
 “ but those who had been of the
 “ opposite opinion withdrew them-
 “ selves from him, esteeming it a
 “ meanness in him not to shew a
 “ greater resentment for such ill-
 “ usage. The queen received him
 “ favourably ; but the count of
 “ Soissons caused him to be kept
 “ from having any concern in bu-
 “ siness, which had been so much
 “ under his immediate manage-
 “ ment in the late king's reign.
 “ Seeing himself thus fallen both
 “ from his credit and employ-
 “ ments, he went to Sully ; and
 “ not thinking himself in safety
 “ enough there, he retired into the
 “ province of Bourbon.” This
 “ writer adds, that one of the prin-
 “ cipal motives which induced the
 “ protestants to endeavour to in-
 “ crease his discontent, was their de-
 “ sire of having his great fortune en-
 “ gaged for the advantage of the
 “ common cause : but that he sub-
 “ mitted to the prudent advice
 “ given him by La-Valée, the
 “ lieutenant-general of the artil-
 “ lery, who has been mentioned
 “ before, to keep himself quite re-
 “ tired, without having any con-
 “ cern in the quarrels which soon
 “ after happened. Ib. p. 22.

authentic

1610. authentic form, and, at the same time, most advantageous for me. Her majesty in these brevets declared, that it was at my repeated solicitation she had granted me leave to resign these places; and that I should not hereafter, upon any pretence whatever, be questioned concerning my conduct while I held them.

To these brevets was added another, dated January 27, by which her majesty, in consideration of the services the late king had received from me during a long course of years, and of which she made a most honourable mention, granted me a donation of three hundred thousand livres, to be paid out of the royal treasury, free from the duty of the fifth and tenth penny, and the duty given to the order of the Holy Ghost, from which his majesty was desirous I should be exempted. The letters I received the following days from their majesties, either contained orders to give up the castle of the Bastile to the sieur de Chateaufieux, whom they had made king's lieutenant of it; or acquittals for some jewels of the crown which I had delivered back into their hands, part of which consisted of a jewel called the Licorne, and some other rings and jewels, for which a promissory note of mine for ten thousand livres was lodged with Puget, who now returned it to me, and part of three large rubies, for which I had given my receipt to madame Le-Grand, when I took them out of her hands, where they were mortgaged.

I employed the remainder of the time I staid in Paris in regulating my domestic affairs, in a detail of which the reader would find nothing to merit his attention, except probably the counsels I gave to my secretaries. I had generally six principal ones, as well for the business of my four chief offices of the crown, as for any extraordinary affairs I might have to transact with the court; and I found it necessary to have a great many other clerks or transcribers under them: but those I shall mention here

were my chief secretaries, whose abilities and exact discharge of their several duties well deserved that I should give them a share in affairs of importance, and my confidence in nice and delicate conjunctures; among these, the four brothers of the name of Arnaud were favoured in a particular manner by me. The eldest died while he was yet young, many years before the king was assassinated. I had so great a regard for the second, that from being my secretary only, I procured him to be made counsellor of state, and intendant of the finances: the third went into the army, and was made a colonel of a regiment of horse: and to the last I gave the post of treasurer of France, and that of overseer of the highways. All my other secretaries were provided for in proportion. I believe I shall not be accused of having broken one of the laws of nature, which directs that the adherents to us, or perhaps we say more properly, to our places, should not be disappointed of those rewards, which it is in our power to bestow upon them according to their merit. Duret was preferred to be a treasurer of France, president of the chamber of accounts, and comptroller-general of the finances; Renouard was made auditor of accounts; La-Clavelle overseer of the bridges and causeways; Du-Maurier, who had quitted the duke of Bouillon's service for mine, was employed in public affairs, to which his genius and inclination led him, and has been since ambassador to Holland; Murat was made treasurer of the extraordinary of war; La-Font, whom I have often mentioned in these Memoirs, acquired the favour and confidence of the late king, who, among other benefits that he bestowed upon him, made him overseer of his furniture; Gillot was made secretary of the ordnance. All these men were truly sensible how much they were going to lose by my retreat, and they omitted no sort of entreaties or methods to prevail upon me to alter my resolution. I will do most of them the justice to declare, that I believe,
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1610. by acting thus, they thought they were serving my interest at least as much as their own: but as for the two Arnauds, the eldest especially, and two or three more, they were but little affected with my purpose. They would even have been grieved if I had altered my opinion; yet it was they who opposed it most. Arnaud the elder added, on this occasion, hypocrisy to avarice and ingratitude: meanly as he thought of Jeannin's abilities for the office of superintendant of the finances, for which he looked upon himself as much better qualified, he was one of those who solicited Conchini most earnestly to procure it for that minister, who he flattered himself would leave the chief management of it to him.

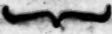
I penetrated into the inmost recesses of their hearts: I discovered views and designs which they probably imagined were sufficiently concealed; but I suppressed a resentment unworthy of me; and, taking them aside one after the other, I gave them such advice as, from the present conjuncture of the times, and the knowledge I had of their dispositions, was most likely to advance their fortunes: I told the elder Arnaud, that he had it in his power to make his court very successfully to the queen, by the great number of excellent memoirs upon the most important affairs of the finances, which were lodged in his hands; and, that this sacrifice might lose no part of its merit, I advised him to offer it by madame de Conchini, seriously recommending it to him, at the same time, to devote himself faithfully to her service: I advised his brother to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the favour of the chancellor, of Villeroy, Jeannin, and, above all, Conchini's, who was the only oracle which it was necessary for him to consult in the exercise of his employment; and I desired the colonel himself to make his court to those very persons.

Duret, besides all those, might apply himself to the commander * and to Dollé; and this I recom-

* Noel de Sillery, brother to the chancellor.

mended

mended to him to do. Du-Maurier needed only to be made known to Villeroi, by carefully cultivating his friendship, which I assured him would be sufficient; and with the knowledge he had of foreign affairs, joined to the talents he possessed of speaking well, and of writing still better, he might easily obtain of the queen and the favourite some honourable employment. To Murat, who was accountable for his conduct to the secretary of state, I recommended my interests at court; but to discharge this trust cautiously, and not without first asking Villeroi's consent. As for La-Clavelle, his subtle wit and proneness to flattery secured him all possible success with the ministers, and even with D'Escures, who had more power than any body else to block up his way in the discharge of his office. La-Font's employment subjecting him wholly to the queen's will, or rather to Conchini's, he had but one path to follow, which I pointed out to him. The advice I gave to Renouard, was not to seek any other recommendation from his own court, except the importance which the force of his understanding might give him amongst his associates; and I desired he would to this employment add that of taking care of my domestic affairs at Paris. Gillot I placed with my son, to superintend the affairs of the ordnance; and, that every thing might be kept in the same order in which I had left it, I gave to my inferior secretaries and clerks such advice as I thought most suitable to their humbler station, and obliged those who shewed most reluctance to comply with my measures, to confess at length, that, in what I had recommended to them, I had a particular view to that necessity which sooner or later would force them to follow the rules I had prescribed. This I accompanied with a compliment to each, and an obliging command to follow my directions, which had such an appearance of sincerity, that they yielded to my arguments; and they have not repented. I had no intention, however, to keep no more secretaries

1610.  cretaries in my service; but, being now out of place myself, I had no occasion for men that were in, for this employment. I therefore took two new secretaries into my family, whose chief business, in a cabinet no longer occupied with the affairs of state, was collecting and preparing these Memoirs for the public.

This done, and burying in eternal oblivion those hopes, desires, resentments, and regrets, which any other in my situation might have formed, I bid a lasting adieu to the court, and with the same indifference as if it had not for so long a course of years been to me the theatre of glory, wealth, and happiness*. I lost at one stroke a king who was my benefactor and my support, and with him my fortune, my friends, and my favour. This loss generally brings along with it so many other mortifications, that, to those who have suffered it, it appears but the least part of their unhappiness. If this additional ill fortune is always the effect of particular enmities, certainly no one was more exposed to them than myself; yet history can furnish but few examples of ministers and favourites in disgrace who were as much honoured and respected in their fall as I was; for it sometimes happens that public esteem succeeds to particular favour in supporting those who are unfortunate only, and when it does not form a counterweight strong enough to incline the ballance to their side, it is because these supposed oppressed persons have always some weak place by which they may be attacked, and which they find it very difficult to defend. Acknowledged probity and innocence will always have the advantage over envy, even at the very time when it seems most to triumph. My enemies therefore (for I have a right to apply this maxim to myself) could satisfy but a

* "On Saturday, the 5th of February, the duke of Sully left Paris, after returning the grant he had received of 100,000 crowns. The duchess of Sully blamed his haughtiness and pride in doing so." L'Etoile, ib. p. 257.

1610.

small part of their rage against me, because the victory they had gained was one of those shameful advantages which it is thought necessary to conceal, and which is not enjoyed wholly without remorse; nor did the satisfaction my enemies felt for my disgrace, hinder some true Frenchmen, who eagerly embraced every occasion of shewing their respect for the memory of the late king, from honouring a man who expected no more than to set out on his exile in privacy and peace. I was attended at my leaving Paris by more than three hundred horse.

It was not while I was present, and in a condition to defend myself, that I expected to see my enemies use their utmost efforts against me: envy is a passion whose characteristic is cowardice, no less than malice and detraction: I was always persuaded that they would seize eagerly the advantages my absence afforded them. In effect, a few days were scarce elapsed after my arrival at Sully, when the whole court was filled with reports which tended not only to give a bad impression of my conduct in public affairs, but also to render me enough suspected to afford them some pretence for commencing a prosecution against me, the shame and grief of which was all they desired I should suffer*. On this occasion I took such measures as I thought every wise man ought to take, which was to disarm envy the most effectual way, by preventing, with frequent letters, the minds of their majesties from being prejudiced to my disadvantage.

In the first, which I addressed to the king and queen, I complained that bad designs were formed

* "He had no sooner retired," says the *Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*, p. 128, "but many prepared to pursue the victory over him, in order to come in for a share of his spoils.—But the queen at last, with great reason, changed her measures, it

"not being held reasonable to treat with ill usage a person whose services had been so advantageous to France, without any other pretext, than that, by his having been useful to the public, he had at the same time been so to himself."

against

1610. against me: I offered to justify my conduct by every method they could propose, and even, if necessary, by new services: and, after giving their majesties the strongest assurances of obedience, fidelity, and innocence, I represented to them with some freedom, that, if they had been as well persuaded of that innocence as they had given me room to believe, I should have received proofs of it ere now, by the orders they would have been pleased to give for the performances of the several promises they had made me, with respect to my places, and to the gratuities which the king had granted me: that the first artifice practised by my enemies, had been to defer, and afterwards to hinder, if they could, the effect of those promises, which, being so many proofs of their majesties good opinion of me, while they subsisted, it was dangerous to attempt any thing against me; and it was for this reason that I was so solicitous for their being accomplished.

To this letter I received an answer from the queen such as I could have wished: She observed in it, that my past services, and my present inclinations, were so well known to the king and to her, that it was not in the power of any person whatever to alter their sentiments with respect to me: that hitherto she had not perceived it had been attempted; but, if it should, it would be to no purpose: she assured me it was not owing to any ill-will towards me, but to chance alone, that some little difficulties had been found in performing the agreements between his majesty and me; but that they should be observed with the utmost exactness. This letter is dated March 7, 1611.

It was not long before I sent the queen another letter, of which I cannot dispense with myself from giving the reader some account, because what I there declared concerning the state of my private affairs, was exactly conformable to the situation I found myself in upon my retiring from public business. I began with recalling to her remembrance the

the open profession I had always made of attachment to her person, and the proofs I had given of it, as well before as since her marriage; and here I mentioned certain particular circumstances, when I drew upon myself some reproaches from the late king for supporting her against him on occasions when I thought I was labouring equally for both their interests. This led me to an elogium on the good qualities of the queen regent, on which I founded the opinion I was to appear in this letter to have entertained, that she had no part in the persecutions raised against me at court.

This article I treated at great length, it being that for which the letter was chiefly written. I gave the queen to understand that I was well informed of the disadvantageous reports which were spread against me in court; of the obstacles my enemies were incessantly raising to hinder me from settling peaceably my private affairs; and, in a word, of the perquisites which their majesties proposed to allow me in the offices, of which I could not be deprived. I assumed a right from the good intentions which I supposed this princess had towards me, founded upon the repeated assurances she had given me of her esteem, to complain to her of those persons who rendered these intentions ineffectual. I insisted particularly upon the favour and protection I had reason to expect from their majesties while I was making that disposition of my affairs, to which, for the sake of peace, I had sacrificed my interest, when it would have been so much the easier to have disputed the ground with my adversaries, as the motives by which they acted being almost generally known, I had every advantage over them which I could desire. I here laid down concisely the principal points of my management, and my share of that wealth with which, by my labours and economy, I had enriched the kingdom till the year 1610, when I saw all the measures I had taken to keep every thing in the same state of order and

VOL. V. H regularity

1610.

regularity at once overturned and destroyed; adding, that time would show whether the kingdom had most obligations to my enemies or to me.

I took this opportunity to obviate some of their most specious accusations: I represented to the queen the great folly and absurdity they were guilty of in exclaiming against me for the vast riches they said I had acquired during the course of my favour with the late king, when in their hearts they despised me for not making greater advantages of so fair an opportunity, and were fully resolved not to follow my example. The narrow bounds of a letter would not permit me to say all I could in my own justification: I only observed to the queen, that it was easy for me to prove that that wealth, which they imputed to me as a crime, I acquired either by frugality and œconomy, or by the bounty of a master too generous and too grateful to leave a minister unrewarded who devoted himself, with an assiduity, rarely seen in a superintendant, to continual labours for the public good*; that it was sufficient for me, that all the gratuities I had received from my master were only those which he laid his commands upon me to accept; and this I could prove as clearly as the use to which I had applied them, which was more, I believed, than those who were going to succeed me would be able to say at the close of their administration. I told the queen that I hoped I should not be charged either with vanity or malice, if I affirmed that the wrong they were now attempting to do me, was a real injury to the state: that I never desired to be continued in the direction of the finances, but for the king's advantage; and that

* "He retired laden with riches, which the time he had been in the ministry had enabled him to acquire.—It may be said with great truth, that the first years of his administration were very profitable to him; and if any should say the last were no less so, it

"must be allowed that, if they were advantageous to him, they were greatly so to the public." Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128. One single proof from an enemy, such as the author of this History, will counterbalance a thousand others.

having

having their majesties for judges of my actions, upon whose equity and goodness I relied to hinder my enemies from commencing a prosecution against me, the privacy I was going to enjoy would no longer appear dangerous to me; but, on the contrary, I should find it so much the more pleasing, as it began now to be suitable to my age, and would be interrupted with no reproaches, nor embittered by any remorse.

Towards the close of this letter, through which I had occasionally interspersed many offers of service, assurances of fidelity, and all those expressions of respect and obedience, which I thought I owed to the queen, I told her, that before I set out for my government, whither my affairs called me, I would give her notice of it, and receive her orders; and, if she thought I could be of any use to her in the assembly of the protestants, to which I was summoned, I would go thither with the same disposition and readiness to serve her as the late king my master. Such was the purport of this long letter, which the queen answered by another, dated April 24. It was conceived almost in the same terms as her former letter: she left me at liberty to go to Poitiers, or to the assembly of the protestants, and to stay there as I should judge proper, knowing better than any other. (those were her words) how I could be most useful to the king in either of those places.

But what completely secured me against all reverses of fortune was, that her majesty being desirous to give a public proof of her esteem for me, and how little it was in the power of my enemies to hurt me, granted me an augmentation of my pension, for which the brevet was expediated in less than a month after the date of her last letter. This augmentation was twenty-four thousand livres; so that altogether my pensions at that time amounted to forty-eight thousand four hundred livres a year. It was expressed in the brevet, that this additional pension commenced on the first of January 1611,

1610. although it was dated the 20th of May; and that her majesty thought herself under an obligation to grant it to me, as well in acknowledgment for my past services, of which the most honourable mention was made, as to enable me to continue them for the future.

Notwithstanding this, I do not think myself dispensed with from proving that article of the foregoing letter, which regards my wealth. A superintendant of the finances, and any man to whom the management of the kingdom's money has been entrusted, is accountable to the public for all his actions; nor would I refuse, if called upon, to lay before it my most secret thoughts, since it has been always my study to regulate them in such a manner, that they would, if known, not only subject me to no censure, for this is an indispensable obligation upon all men, but also that they might in some respect seem worthy to serve for a model to those who, succeeding to my place, would have the same engagements to fulfil. Happy if I could have reason to hope that this model would be effaced with one more perfect. I shall continue therefore to give the public such an exact state of my domestic affairs, following the method I began a few pages above, that any other person may be as well acquainted with them as I am myself. To spare my readers the trouble of collecting together at too great a distance the articles of a broken calculation, and that they may view the whole with one single glance, I shall here lay before them all that has been said on that subject in different parts of these Memoirs, beginning with a faithful account of my whole yearly revenue, according to the order of time when I was invested with those offices, from whence the greatest part of it arose*.

* The following memoir is an unanswerable refutation of a reflection cast on the duke of Sully by the *Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*,

p. 130; and expressed in these words: "In fine, if during his administration, he had managed the king's affairs well, he had not

I was in the first place, while Henry the Great 1610. was yet but king of Navarre, preferred to the post of first gentleman of his bed-chamber, together with that of counsellor of Navarre: the salaries of both amounted to two thousand livres a year. When he became king of France, he made me counsellor of state, for which I had a like allowance, which, with a pension of three thousand six hundred livres, increased my income with the yearly sum of five thousand six hundred livres. My company of men at arms brought me in four thousand livres a year. The king giving me afterwards two brevets, one for counsellor of parliament, without salary, and the other for counsellor of the finances, three thousand six hundred livres were on this occasion added to my pensions. His majesty having thought proper to fix the gratuities, pensions, gifts, &c. which he designed to bestow upon me as a superintendant of the finances, to a certain sum, which should be comprehended all in one article, this sum, which amounted to twenty thousand crowns, increased my revenue with ten thousand eight hundred livres a year more: add to this the produce of all my other dignities and employments; the office of grand-surveyor of the roads of France, and surveyor in particular of the isle of France, brought me in ten thousand livres a year; that of great-master of the ordnance, comprehending the salary, profits, and pensions; annexed to it, twenty-four thousand livres. I always placed under one article the sums arising from the government of Poitou, the superintendance of the buildings, that of the fortifications, ports, &c. which all together amounted to eighteen thousand livres a year. The government

“ forget to take care of his own.
 “ This appeared more evidently
 “ from his having come into of-
 “ fice with only six thousand livres
 “ a year, and going out with more
 “ than a hundred and fifty thou-
 “ sand livres, which had obliged
 “ him to withdraw out of the ex-
 “ chequer the rent-roll and inven-

“ tory of his estate and effects,
 “ which had been registered there,
 “ when he came into the manage-
 “ ment of the finances, that it might
 “ not appear against him, under
 “ his own hand and seal, how
 “ much he had enriched himself
 “ out of the king’s money.”

1610.

of Mante and Gergeau brought me in twelve thousand livres; the queen's company of gendarms, of which I was captain-lieutenant, five thousand livres; and the government of the Bastile two thousand two hundred livres a year. All these articles put together make up the sum of ninety-seven thousand two hundred livres a year.

Each of these articles have been already mentioned in different parts of these Memoirs. What remains to be added to them are as follows: Forty-five thousand livres in church benefices, which his holiness was so well satisfied that I should enjoy under the borrowed name of some ecclesiastics, that he generally expediated the bulls gratis, when he was told that the abbey was for me. I lost no part of this income, when it was decreed that the ecclesiastics should withdraw all their benefices out of the hands of the protestants, because by the Pope's bulls, in which this regulation was expressed, the ecclesiastics on whom they were bestowed, were to give the full value of them to the first possessor. My own lands and possessions compose a second article, which I believe I estimate justly, by making them amount to sixty thousand livres a year. These two last sums, added to that of ninety-seven thousand two hundred livres, make a total of two hundred and two thousand two hundred livres a year.

I shall prevent the explanation which may be demanded of me, with respect to the article of twenty thousand crowns in lands; and, in the first place, I desire it may be remembered that there was a kind of agreement made between the king and myself in the year 1601, by which that prince, who did not think my labours in his service sufficiently rewarded by my ordinary gratuities and pensions, and who likewise was apprehensive as well as I that those sums, which his generosity led him to give me in extraordinary presents and gratuities, would produce bad consequences hereafter, by that appearance of profusion they might have, again settled his

his gifts and gratuities, in a new sum of sixty thousand livres a year, which was to take in all that I was to expect merely from his bounty. This donation was expediated by letters patent, that, being known to the whole kingdom, I might not be one day subjected to any dishonourable imputation on account of it. I enjoyed this extraordinary gratuity for eight years, which produced me the sum of four hundred and twenty four thousand livres, which I laid out, according to the king's desire, in making acquisitions in proportion. I made the same use of the sum of five hundred and thirty thousand livres arising from the following articles: From money which I have received, but which is subject to be repaid, two hundred thousand livres, on the marriage of my son; a hundred thousand livres which I received with my wife; a hundred thousand paid me by La-Borde, as much by M. Schomberg; and thirty thousand which his majesty gave me for my son D'Orval*. These sums, I say, which added to the above, make one million and ten thousand livres, I laid out in the following manner:

* Francis de Bethune, the founder of the branch of the counts of Orval, was knight of the king's orders, master of the horse to the queen, surveyor-general of France, superintendant of the royal buildings, governor of St. Maixant, camp-master of the regiment of Picardy, lieutenant-general of the king's armies. After the death of César de Bethune, his brother of the whole blood, who died unmarried, the estates and lordships which the duke of Sully, their father had settled upon the children of his second marriage (as we shall relate hereafter) became united in him. They were erected into a duchy and peerage, under the title of de Bethune, which was done in consideration of his signal services to the crown, and particularly in having raised, at his own expence,

a considerable body of forces, both foot and horse, at a time when the king stood in great need of them; to carry on the war, in which he was then engaged, with the Spaniards, duke Charles of Lorraine, the prince of Condé, and others of his rebellious subjects. It is in these terms the letters patent for this purpose are expressed, which are dated at Melun in the month of June 1652. The duchy of Sully devolved on this branch of the family, in 1650, on the death of Maximilian, the fifth duke of Sully, in the person of Lewis Peter Maximilian de Bethune, grandson of this Francis count of Orval, to whom it was adjudged by the council of state, he paying the value of it to the abbe Armand de Bethune his great uncle, afterwards count of Orval.

1610.

I purchased one half of the estate of Rosny with two hundred and ten thousand livres; the estate of Dourdon, which I bought of Sancy, who held it of the Swiss captans, cost me, beside the money he owed me, a hundred thousand livres. I had the lands of Sully from the duke de La-Tremouille for a hundred and fifty thousand livres; and Villebon, by an ordinance, for one hundred thousand. The three contracts I made with the duke of Nevers amounted to two hundred and ten thousand livres; namely, for Montrond a hundred thousand; La-Chapelle fifty-six thousand; and for Henrichemont fifty-four thousand. I bought the estate of Châtellet of the duke of Montpensier for sixty thousand livres; that of Culand, by an ordinance, for eight thousand; and Des Is, in Beauce, for seventy-five thousand livres. The whole of these purchases, which amount to eleven hundred and ninety thousand livres, exceeding, as appears, that of the two sums received above by a hundred and nine thousand livres, this sum will be found charged in the articles of receipt, which are placed after; for I am desirous of giving the reader full satisfaction, by carrying this detail even farther than he has a right to expect, and for this purpose I must step a little aside from the subject I am treating of, and give an account of the several sums I received after the death of Henry the Great, as an equivalent for my charges, in gratuities from the young king, &c. even to the time that I resolved to dispose of almost all the employments with which I had been invested.

The three hundred thousand livres which his majesty granted me by letters patent, were at once a gift from this prince, and a kind of recompence for the superintendance of the finances, and government of the Bastile, which I resigned into his hands. He gave me sixty thousand livres for my company of gendarms, for which I had refused two hundred thousand. I agreed with Fourcy to resign to him the superintendance of the buildings for fifty thousand

and livres, which was the price set upon it by his majesty: I refused to take more. I was offered three hundred thousand livres for the government of Poitou, which I yielded to Rohan, who obtained the king's consent that he should purchase it for two hundred thousand. I lost in the same manner a hundred thousand livres upon the offices of grand-surveyor of the roads, and hereditary master of the canals and navigation of rivers. The treasurer of France paid me only a hundred and fifty thousand for them. His majesty likewise caused me to be paid again the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand livres for the estate of Dourdan, and I agreed with the prince of Condé to give him back the lands of Villebon for a hundred and fifty thousand livres, which he has since paid me. I destined these two last sums for the portion of my youngest daughter, for whom it was more difficult to procure an establishment than her eldest sister. To these sums I add those which arose from the sale of my benefices; for I thought it was equally allowable for me to take money for them, as for the ecclesiastics, by whom they were purchased, to give it me; or for the Pope to permit it, as he did, by his bulls. I therefore took, without making any scruples, an allowance of eighty thousand livres of an abbe who was recommended to me by the prince of Condé, for my abbey of Coulon. Bethune, who, as well as his son, was the most scrupulous roman catholic I ever knew, purchased, under the sanction of these bulls, the abbey of Jard of me for forty thousand livres; an abbe, a friend of the duke of Rohan, bought that of L'Or at Poitiers of me for seventy thousand: and L'Argentier Vaucemain, or rather his son, that of L'Absie for fifty thousand livres. All these sums together make a total of thirteen hundred thousand livres. Let us now see to what use it was applied.

I bought of M. de Lavardin the estate of Montpicaux, and that of Caussade, from the sieur Palliers,

for

1610.

for a hundred and sixty thousand livres both. My youngest daughter * having, on account of some personal disadvantages, as I observed before, occasion for a larger portion than her sister to marry her suitable to her birth, I gave with her to M. de Mirepoix four hundred and fifty thousand livres in specie: the other expences of this marriage, in jewels, furniture, &c. formed an article of fifty thousand livres more, which in all makes up the sum of five hundred thousand livres. I shall only slightly observe here, that such distinguishing proofs of paternal tenderness were repaid both by my daughter and her husband with the most striking instances of ingratitude. I lent to several cities, and to that of Rochelle in particular, more than two hundred and fifty thousand livres, which, by the siege and reduction of this city, and the wars raised against the protestants, I have almost wholly lost. The money I lent, at different times, to the marquis of Rosny, and the debts I paid for him, amount at least to three hundred thousand livres; the yearly incomes which came to me from Languedoc and Guyenne, by the purchase I made of certain registries and rents there, cost me four hundred thousand livres; and the house I bought in Paris two hundred and twenty thousand livres. By calculating my accounts of the money I laid out in buildings and other works, in furniture, in journies, and other expences of that kind, I find a capital of seven hundred thousand livres. The sum total of all these several articles, amounts to two millions five hundred and thirty thousand livres, which makes it superior to the total of receipt, which precedes it, by twelve hundred and thirty thousand livres.

The reader may have observed, from the beginning of these Memoirs, that my application to my

* *Louisa de Bethune.* She was married on the 29th of May, 1620, to Alexander de Lévis, marquis of Mirepoix.

domestic œconomy extended itself to things which it might be naturally expected would have been excepted from it; I mean in the military profits, arising either from prisoners I had taken, from ransoms, or at the sacking of towns taken by assault, and on other occasions of the same kind, which it is not necessary to give a minute account of here. When the peace of Vervins was concluded, I found that these profits, which when considered separately appear so slight that they scarce deserve to be mentioned, yet made a total of one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts. The war of Savoy, which fell out afterwards, was worth as much more to me in cannon, arms, ammunition, &c. taken from the enemy, of which I had a large portion as great master of the ordnance. Of all this I make an article of three hundred thousand livres. By calculating the value of all those presents that were made me on different occasions, I found the whole amount to a sum nearly equal to the former. It must be observed, that I mean only such presents as I received in the character of a public person, and in occurrences when it would not have been decent for me to have refused them, as in my embassies and negotiations; upon the king's marriage, from the queen and the grand-duke; on the marriage of the princess Catherine with the duke of Lorraine; on every new-year's day from their majesties and queen Margaret. It would have been a ridiculous affectation to shew myself as scrupulously nice about these presents, and others of the same nature, as I did when they were offered to me with interested views. However, I would not receive any thing in this manner without its being expressed in a brevet, which I entreated his majesty to grant me for each of these gifts, which, tho' in jewels and trinkets, composed a sum of one hundred thousand crowns. I sold again the lands of Dourdon for a hundred and fifty thousand livres, before my gratuities were settled to

twenty

1610.

twenty thousand crowns, as I have already mentioned, and which did not happen till the year 1601. The late king listening only to the dictates of his own generous mind, and to the friendship with which he honoured me, obliged me to accept many other donations which have not been particularized here, and which, I believe, do not amount to less than two hundred thousand livres. Lastly, since my income was become so considerable as the reader has seen, it is not surprising that by strictly observing a maxim, which from my earliest years I had laid down as absolutely necessary for the advantage of my domestic affairs; namely, that one ought never to spend the whole extent of one's income, I should at the end of a certain number of years have laid by a very considerable sum. If we suppose this sum to amount to three hundred and fifty thousand livres, and add it to the four former ones, we shall find that it will, within a very little matter, make up the twelve hundred thousand livres, which is wanting to produce a perfect equality between the receipt and expence. I think it unnecessary to repeat here what I have formerly said, with respect to the current expences of my house.

What I am going to relate concerning my transactions with the prince of Condé, may appear as a matter of mere curiosity only; but I was not willing to omit it, as it has some connection with the subject I am on at present. When the war broke out against the protestants under the new reign, the prince of Condé being solicitous to remove me from his governments, where I had several very fine estates, and some strong castles, proposed to me to sell them all to him. I was apprehensive that, if I refused to comply with this proposal, the war would furnish him with pretences to drive me from thence, which force would have rendered valid. I was sensible that his councils had not a little contributed to that resolution they had lately taken against us, and

I was

I was forewarned that he was meditating something worse with regard to me. I therefore agreed with him for the lands of Villebon, Montrond, Orval, Culand, and Le-Châtelet, and with the greater willingness, as he offered me more than they had cost me, and indeed more than they were worth. Accordingly a contract was signed by us both, in which the prince of Condé obliged himself to give me twelve hundred thousand livres for those estates: he did not pay me the money down indeed; but I readily consented to wait till it suited his own convenience.

However, I did not expect that, at the expiration of a certain time, this prince would find out an easy method of discharging at once both the principal and interest, by demanding of the king that my estates should be confiscated, a practice which the war made then very common. His majesty was so good as to remember me on this occasion, and rejected with a kind of horror so infamous a request. When the peace was concluded, the prince found himself obliged to come to an account with me. His inclination for the lands of Baugy increasing, there was a necessity for yielding him that likewise, as well as all the others, in order that I might not on any side be his neighbour. He took a dislike to the lands of Villebon, which, together with those of Muret, he restored to me as an equivalent for the estate which he so eagerly coveted. The exchange was not disadvantageous to me. This method of paying me being most convenient for this prince, he made over to me, one after the other, the lands of Nogent, Montigny, Chanrond, Vitrai, the marquisate of Conty, Breteuil, Francatel, and La-Falaïse, invested with the same rights as the lands that I had exchanged, the principal of which, in my eyes, was the liberty of calling them, according to the king's patent, A possession which I held by the liberality and immediate grant of the king

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1610.

my master. * Thus I got out of the dispute with the prince, who, it must be confessed, was guilty of a double injustice in endeavouring to get possession of my estates by procuring them to be confiscated.

I have been a witness of very miserable times since the death of the king my master. The war which I saw kindled against the protestants, filled me with grief: I was incited by a thousand different

* Amongst the papers containing the proofs of what M. de Sully here relates of his disputes with the prince of Condé, which the present duke of Sully has done me the honour to communicate to me, I find two letters, which it may not be improper to insert here: one is from the prince of Condé to the first duke of Sully; the other from the prince of Conty to the marquis de Bethune (Maximilian Alpinus) Grandfather of the duke of Sully now living.

Letter from the Prince of CONDE to the Duke of SULLY.

“ MONSIEUR,

“ I hope to have the honour of seeing you soon. The bearer hereof will inform you from whence this comes, and explain the contents of it to you. You will find, from my actions, how much I have at heart the king's service, the public good, and your friendship in particular, which I passionately covet. I beg you will assuredly rely on the truth of these professions. I am preparing, in performance of our mutual engagements, to conclude our bargain for Villebon, and will let you know (begging you will meet me for that purpose) in what place I can have the honour of conversing with you.

I am, Monsieur,

Your cousin, and

most humble servant,

HENRY de BOURBON.”

Letter from the Prince of CONTY to the Marquis of BETHUNE.

“ MONSIEUR,

“ I am extremely pressed by the count of Orval to consent to the agreement he is desirous of making with the viscount of Meaux, for the estate of Chanrold; and he even offers to give me security to indemnify me against the warranty my late father entered into. I would not however make him any promise, after having engaged to your mother-in-law not to do any thing in this affair without acquainting you with it; and, as it is for the benefit of all parties, that this matter should be settled, and made an end of as soon as possible, I am willing to refer my pretensions to the judgment of the count de Bethune your kinsman, and beg you will do so too, and submit to what he shall direct. The count of Orval and the viscount of Meaux are content to submit their claims to him, and abide by his determination. I make no doubt of your consenting to this proposal, as otherwise I shall be obliged to do what is desired of me, and accept of the proposed security. I earnestly beseech you not to make any difficulty of coming into this agreement. In the mean time, I am

Your most affectionate servant,

ARMAND de BOURBON.”

Toulouze, 19th of Oct.

1656.

motives

motives to take part in it; but I courageously resisted this snare: I never gave the king the least reason to look upon me as a rebel, or an abetter of rebels. I have punctually obeyed all his majesty's commands; am always ready to present myself at court whenever he is pleased to require it: in a word, I have had the good fortune to continue as faithful in the performance of those promises I made to the king my benefactor, as in that of the duties of a good citizen.

MEMOIRS
OF
SULLY.
BOOK XXX.

Wherein is discussed the POLITICAL SCHEME,

Commonly called

The Great Design of HENRY IV.

AS this part of these Memoirs will be chiefly taken up with an account of the great design of Henry IV. or the political scheme, by which he proposed to govern, not only France, but all Europe; it may not be improper to begin it with some more general reflections on this monarchy, and on the Roman empire, upon whose ruins we know it has been formed, as well as all the other powers which at this day compose the christian world.

If we consider all those successive changes which Rome has suffered from the year of the world 3064, which is that of its foundation *, its infancy, youth, and virility; its declension, fall, and final ruin; these vicissitudes, which it experienced in common with the great monarchies by which it was preceded,

* The opinion now most generally received is that of Varro, who places the time of the foundation of Rome near 200 years later.

would almost incline one to believe, that empires, like all other fabulous things, are subject to be the sport, and at last sink under the pressure of time. And if we extend this idea still further, we shall perhaps perceive, that they are all liable to be disturbed or interrupted in their courses, by certain extraordinary incidents; which, for any thing that we can discover to the contrary, may be termed epidemical distempers; that very frequently precipitate their destruction; and their cure by this discovery becoming easier, we may at least recover some of them from those crisis's which threaten their destruction.

But if we endeavour to discover more visible and natural causes of the ruin of this vast and formidable empire, we shall perhaps soon perceive they were produced by a deviation from those wise laws, and that simplicity of manners, which were the original of all its grandeur, into luxury, avarice, and ambition; yet there was, finally, another cause, the effect of which could hardly have been prevented or foreseen by the utmost human wisdom; I mean, the irruptions of those vast bodies of barbarous people, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Herulians, Rugians, Lombards, &c. from whom, both separately and united, the Roman empire received such violent shocks, that it was at last overthrown by them: Rome was three times sacked by these Barbarians*; in 414, under Honorius, by Alaric, chief of the Goths; in 455, by Genferic, king of the Vandals, under Martian; and in 546, under Justinian, by Totila and the Goths. Now if it be true, that after this, the city retained the shadow of what she had been, if we must regard her as divested of the empire of the world, when her weakness and the abuses of her government made this event to be looked upon, not simply as inevitable, but as very near, and, in fact,

* These three epochs are not quite just; the first was in 410, instead of 414; the second in 455, or 456; and the third in 544, under Tegas, successor of Totila, and the last king of the Goths: the sacking the city this last time lasted forty days.

already arrived; the epocha of her fall may then be marked long before the reign of Valentine III. to whom it will be doing a favour, to call him the last emperor of the East*; for several of those emperors whom he succeeded, were, in reality, no better than tyrants, by whom the empire was torn and divided, and the shattered remnants left to be the spoil of the Barbarians, who, indeed, by their conquests, acquired an equal right to them.

Rome, nevertheless, by intervals, beheld some faint appearances of a revival; those of which she was most sensible were under the reign of the great Constantine, whose victories once more united this vast body under one head; but when he transported the seat of his empire from Rome to Constantinople, he, by that step, without being sensible of it, contributed more to the destruction of a work which had cost him so much labour, than all the ill conduct of his predecessors had been able to effect; and this even he rendered irremediable, by dividing his empire equally between his three sons. Theodosius, who by good fortune, or from an effect of his great valour, found himself in the same circumstances with Constantine, would not perhaps have committed the same fault, had he not been influenced by the force of Constantine's example; but this, in a manner, necessarily obliged him to divide his empire in two; Arcadius had the East, Honorius the West: and from that time there never was any hopes nor opportunity of reuniting them.

According to the order of nature, by which the destruction of one king becomes the instrument for the production of others; so, in proportion, as the most distant members of the empire of the East fell off from it, from thence there arose kingdoms;

* It would be unjust, surely, to refuse the title of emperors of the East to Valentinian III. to Honorius, &c. The expressions here used by our author should not be

understood in their most rigorous sense, but only as meaning an empire weakened, and approaching to its final destruction.

though

though indeed they did not at first bear that rank. The most ancient of these (its origin appearing to have been in the eighth year of the empire of Honorius) is, undoubtedly, that which was founded in Gaul by the French, so called from Franconia, from whence they were invited by the Gauls, who inhabited the countries about the Moselle, to assist them in their deliverance from the oppression of the Roman armies. It being a custom among these Franks, or French, to confer the title of king upon whatever person they chose to be their leader; if the first or second of these chiefs have not borne it, it is certain, at least, that the third, which was Merovius, and more particularly Clavius, who was the fifth, were invested with it*, and some of them supported it with so much glory; among others, Pepin and Charles Martel, to whom it would be doing an injustice to refuse them this dignity; that their worthy successor Charlemagne, revived in Gaul an imperfect image of the now extinguished empire in the East: this indeed was facilitated by those natural advantages France enjoys of numerous inhabitants trained to war; and a great plenty of all things serving the different necessities of life, joined to a very great conveniency for commerce, arising from its situation, which renders it the center of four of the principal powers of Europe; Germany, Italy, Spain, and Britain, with the Low Countries.

* The whole of what is here said, may be allowed to be right: according to Petau and Sirmond, the chiefs of the French bore the title of kings from the reign of Valentinian II. which was long before the year 445, when Claudian, by the taking of Cambray, &c. first established himself on this side of the Rhine. They first established themselves on the other side of the Rhine, about the middle of the third century, and extended themselves, nearly

from the Texel, as far as Francofort. This revolt of a part of Gaul against the Romans, happened in 434, in the twelfth year of the reign of Valentinian III. and the author's opinion on the establishment of the French in Gaul, is confirmed by a learned academic, who has cleared up this critical point as much as it was possible (the late abbé Du-Bos). Hist. Crit. de l'étab. de la monarchie Franç. dans la Gaules. Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. 17. liv. ii. ch. 7, 8.

Let us here just say one word upon the three races which compose the succession of our kings: in the first of them I find only Merovius, Clovis I. and Clovis II. Charles Martel, Pepin le Bref, and Charlemagne, in the second, who have raised themselves above the common level of their race. Take away these six from the thirty-five, which we compute in these two races, and all the rest, from their vices or their incapacity, appear to have been either wicked kings, or but the shadow of kings; though among them we may distinguish some good qualities in Sigibert and Dagobert, and a very great devotion in Lewis le Debonnaire, which, however, ended in his repenting the loss of empire and his kingdom, together with his liberty, in a cloister.

The Carlovingian race having reigned obscurely, and ended so too, the crown then descended upon a third; the four first kings of which, in my opinion, appear to have been perfect models of wise and good government. The kingdom which came under their dominion had lost much of its original splendor, for from its immense extent in the time of Charlemagne, it was reduced to very near the same bounds which it has at this day; with this difference, that though they might have been desirous to restore its antient limits, the form of the government, which rendered the kings subject to the great men and people of the kingdom, who had a right to chuse, and even to govern their sovereigns, left them no means by which they could succeed in such an attempt. The conduct, therefore, which they pursued was, to condemn arbitrary power to an absolute silence; and, in its place, to substitute equity itself: a kind of dominion which never excites envy. Nothing now was done without the consent of the great men and the principal cities, and almost always in consequence of the decision of an assembly of the states. A conduct so moderate and prudent put an end to all factions, and stifled all conspiracies, which are fatal to the state or the sovereign. Regularity, economy,

oeconomy, a distinction of merit, strict observance of justice, all the virtues which we suppose necessary qualifications for the good of a family, were what characterized this new government, and produced what was never before beheld, and what perhaps we may never see again, an uninterrupted peace for one hundred twenty-two years: what these princes gained by it for themselves in particular, and which all the authority of the Salic law could never have procured them, was, the advantage of introducing into this house an hereditary right to the crown. But they, nevertheless, thought it a necessary precaution, not to declare their eldest sons their successors till they had modestly asked the consent of the people, preceded it by a kind of election, and usually by having them crowned in their own life-time, and seated with them upon the throne.

Philip II. whom Lewis VII. his father, caused to be crowned, and reign with him in this manner, was the first who neglected to observe this ceremony between the sovereign and his people: several victories, obtained over his neighbours and over his own subjects, which gained him the surname of Augustus, served to open him a passage to absolute power; and a notion of the fitness and legality of this power, by the assistance of favourites, ministers, and others, became afterwards so strongly imprinted in his successors, that they looked upon it as a mark of the most profound good policy, to act contrary to those maxims, the general and particular utility of which had been so effectually confirmed by experience. And this they did without any fear, or perhaps without any conception of the fatal consequences which such a proceeding, against a nation that adored its liberty, might, and even necessarily would incur; of which they might easily have become sensible, from the means to which the people had immediate recourse, to shake off the yoke of tyranny with which they saw themselves menaced. The kings could never obtain of their people any

other than that kind of constrained obedience, which always inclines them to embrace with eagerness, all opportunities of mutiny. This was the source of a thousand bloody wars: that by which almost all France was ravaged by the English; that which we had with Italy, Burgundy, Spain; all of them can be attributed to no other causes, than the civil dissensions by which they were preceded: and here the weakest side, stifling the voice of honour, and the interest of the nation, constantly called in foreigners to assist them in the support of their tottering liberties. These were shameful and fatal remedies; but from that time they were constantly employed, down even to our days, by the house of Lorraine, in a league, for which religion was nothing more than the pretence. Another evil, which may at first appear to be of a different kind, but which, in my opinion, proceeds from the same source, was a general corruption of manners, a thirst for riches, and a most shameful degree of luxury: these, sometimes separately, and sometimes united, were alternate causes and effects of many of our miseries.

Thus, in a few words, I have exposed the various species of our bad policy, with respect both to the form of the government, successively subjected to the will of the people, the soldiers, the nobles, the states, and the kings; and in regard to the persons likewise of these last, whether dependant, elective, hereditary, or absolute.

From the picture here laid before us, we may be enabled to form our judgment upon the third race of our kings: we may find a thousand things to admire in Philip Augustus, Saint-Lewis, Philip le Bel, Charles le Sage, Charles VII. and Lewis XII. But it is to be lamented, that so many virtues, or great qualities, have been exercised upon no better principles; with what pleasure might we bestow upon them the titles of great kings,

kings, could we but conceal that their people were miserable: what might we not, in particular, say of Lewis IX? of the forty-four years which he reigned, the first twenty of them exhibits a scene not unworthy to be compared with the eleven last of Henry the Great. But I am afraid all their glory will appear to have been destroyed in the twenty-four following; wherein it appears, that the excessive taxes upon the subjects, to satisfy an ill-judged and destructive devotion; immense sums transported into the most distant countries, for the ransom of prisoners; so many thousand subjects sacrificed; so many illustrious houses extinguished; caused a universal mourning throughout France, and all together a general calamity.

Let us for once, if it is possible, fix our principles; and being, from long experience, convinced, that the happiness of mankind can never arise from war, of which we ought to have been persuaded long ago; let us, upon this principle, take a cursory view of the history of our monarchy. We will pass by the wars of Clovis and his predecessors, because they seem to have been, in some degree, necessary to confirm the recent foundations of the monarchy: but what shall we say of those wars, in which the four sons of Clovis, the four sons of Clotaire I. and their descendants, were engaged, during the uninterrupted course of one hundred and sixty years? and of those also, by which, for the space of one hundred seventy-two other years, commencing with Lewis le Debonnaire, the kingdom was harassed and torn? What follows is still worse: The slightest knowledge of our history is sufficient to convince any one, that there was no real tranquillity in the kingdom from Henry VIII. to the peace of Vervins: and, in short, all this long period may be called a war of near four hundred years duration. After this examination, from whence it incontestibly appears, that our kings have seldom thought of any thing but how to carry on their wars, we cannot

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but be scrupulous in bestowing on them the title of, Truly Great kings; though we shall, nevertheless, render them all the justice which appears to have been their due: for I confess (as indeed it would be unjust to attribute to them only, a crime which was properly that of all Europe) that several of these princes were sometimes in such circumstances as rendered the wars just, and even necessary; and from hence, when indeed there were no other means to obtain it, they acquired a true and lasting glory. For herein, from the manner in which several of these wars were foreseen, prepared for, and conducted, we may in their councils discover such master-strokes of policy, and in their persons such noble instances of courage, as are deserving of our highest praises. From whence then can proceed the error of so many exploits, in appearance so glorious, though the effect of them has generally been the devastation both of France and all Europe? I repeat it again, of all Europe, which even yet seems scarce sensible, that in her present situation, a situation in which she has been, for several centuries, every attempt which shall tend to her subjection, or only to the too considerably augmenting of any one of her principal monarchies, at the expence of the others, can never be any other than a chimerical and impossible enterprise. There are none of these monarchies, but whose destruction will require a concurrence of causes infinitely superior to all human force. The whole, therefore, of what seems proper and necessary to be done, is to support them all in a kind of equilibrium; and whatever prince thinks, and in consequence acts otherwise, may indeed cause torrents of blood to flow through all Europe, but he will never be able to change her form.

When I observed, that the extent of France is not now so considerable as it was in the time of Charlemagne, my intention, most certainly, was not, that this diminution should be considered as a misfortune. In an age when we feel the sad effects

of having had ambitious princes, from time to time, for our kings, were all to concur in flattering this fatal ambition, it would be the cause of still greater evils; and it may be generally observed, that the larger the extent of kingdoms, the more they are subject to great revolutions and misfortunes. The basis of the tranquillity of our own, in particular, depends upon preserving it within its present limits. A climate, laws, manners, and language, different from our own; seas, and chains of mountains almost inaccessible, are all so many barriers, which we may consider as fixed even by nature. Besides, what is it that France wants? will she not always be the richest and most powerful kingdom in Europe? It must be granted. All therefore which the French have to wish or desire is, that heaven grant them pious, good, and wise kings; and that these kings may employ their power in preserving the peace of Europe; for no other enterprize can truly be to them either profitable or successful.

And this explains to us the nature of the design which Henry IV. was on the point of putting in execution, when it pleased God to take him to himself, too soon by some years for the happiness of the world. From hence likewise we may perceive the motives for his pursuing a conduct so opposite to any thing that had hitherto been undertaken by crowned heads; and here we may behold what it was that acquired him the title of Great. His designs were not inspired by a mean and despicable ambition, nor guided by base and partial interests: to render France happy for ever was his desire; and as she cannot perfectly enjoy this felicity, unless all Europe likewise partakes of it; so it was the happiness of Europe in general which he laboured to procure, and this in a manner so solid and durable, that nothing should afterwards be able to shake its foundations.

I must

I must confess I am under some apprehensions, lest this scheme * should at first be considered as one

* The Memoirs of Sully are the only monument which has preserved to posterity an account of the great design of Henry IV. We find no traces of it in any of the historians, authors of memoirs, or other writers, that were cotemporary with that prince; their silence in this matter proceeded, no doubt, from their not knowing enough of it to say any thing with certainty about it. The world did not begin to descend upon it till the *Memoirs of Sully*, wherein it is so clearly described, were published; and among all those who have considered it ever since about the middle of the seventeenth century, I find scarce any who have questioned the possibility of executing it; doubtless, because they lived near enough to the times in which it was formed, to be convinced, even from the mouths of those who had been witnesses of the preparations and dispositions which were made, that all the measures had been taken precisely in the same manner as related by the duke of Sully; and consequently, that it would have had but few of those obstacles to encounter which have since been raised against it.

The author of a manuscript discourse in the king's library, which to me appears to be the most ancient memoir we have of that time, seems not in the least to have doubted of success in its execution. And M. de Perfixe, who in the third part of his history of Henry the Great, has given a short but very accurate account of the scheme, says positively that it would have succeeded; and farther confirms his assertion by proofs, which he gives, p. 383, and the following. The continuator of Thuanus, in what little he has said of it, anno 1609 and 1610, does not appear to have been of a different sentiment. The marechal de Bassompierre also, in

his Journal, tom. I. seems to be in its favour. To these authorities we may also join that of the author of the life of the duke d'Epemon, and some others, who all seem to be of the same opinion. Indeed, till the beginning of the present century, all authors appear to have been unanimous in this point; and several of our modern historians have joined them herein.

Vittorio Siri (*Mem. Recond.* tom. I. p. 29, 514. tom. II. p. 45, &c.) is the first that I know by whom this great enterprize has been treated as absurd and impossible; but the ignorance which he shews in the whole affair, even in those points which are the least contested; his attachment to the Spanish politics, and his distance from the persons of Henry IV. and his minister, which is every way apparent in all he says on the subject, render him, in this respect, very justly exceptionable his sentiments have been adopted, by the author of the History of the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 44. and for a similar reason of attachment to the queen, mother of Lewis XIII. But this writer, such as he is, producing no better authority for his opinion, than the age of Henry IV. who was then near sixty, appears also to have been so entirely unacquainted with the affair, that we may, without scruple, pronounce, he was ignorant of the disposition which had been made for the complete execution of it within the space of three years, and that he condemns the design without understanding it.

I have much greater reverence for the authority of some modern politicians, who consider it as a kind of impossibility, thus to change the face of all Europe, in the manner proposed by Henry IV. and who imagine, that in our days a much more happy expedient has been discovered, whereby to obtain the
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of those darling chimeras, or idle political speculations, in which a mind susceptible of strange and singular ideas, may be so easily engaged: those who shall thus think of it, must be of that sort of people on whom the first impressions upon a prejudiced imagination, have the force of truth; or those, who by their distance from the times, and their ignorance of the circumstances, confound the wisest and noblest enterprises that have ever been formed, with those chimerical projects which princes, intoxicated with their power, have in all ages amused

equilibrium of Europe, than by reviving the ancient council of the Amphictyons: what I mean, is the precaution now observed, of having all the principal powers of Europe accede to, and become the guarantees of every particular treaty. But all those calamities which we have suffered in consequence of war, do but too plainly evince its insufficiency. In regard to the main stress of the question, I agree with them, that Europe could not now, but with great difficulty, be constituted in the manner proposed by Henry the Great: nevertheless I believe, without pretending to subject any one to my opinion, that those who treat this prince's design as a chimera, do not pay all the necessary attention to the circumstances of those times, wherein Europe, from her frequent dangers of being subjected to the house of Austria, and by the bloody wars which a difference of religion had excited, and continued daily to excite, found herself in a manner compelled to have recourse to extraordinary means to put a period to her miseries.

I cannot finish this remark better, than in the words of M. L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, in his *Discours sur le Grand Homme*: "From hence we may perceive, that if Henry IV. king of France, had executed his celebrated and well-projected design, whereby to render peace perpetual and universal among

" the sovereigns of Europe, he
" would have procured the greatest
" benefit that it was possible, not
" only to his own subjects, but to
" all the christian kingdoms; and
" even, by a necessary consequence,
" to the world in general: a benefit
" of which all generations, present
" and to come, would have participated down to the latest time;
" a benefit, by which we should
" have been exempted from those
" terrible and numerous evils,
" which are the effects of foreign
" and domestic wars; a benefit,
" which would have been the
" source of all those sweets which
" naturally flow from an uninterrupted and universal tranquillity: if, I say, he had been so happy
" as to have executed this great
" design, it would have rendered
" him, beyond all comparison, the
" greatest man the world ever has,
" or probably ever will produce."
After some farther reflections upon the means still more practicable, this judicious author adds: " This prince, however, has always had the honour of being considered as the author of the most important invention, and most useful discovery, for the benefit of mankind, that has yet appeared in the world; the execution of which may, perhaps, be reserved by providence, for the greatest and most capable of his successors."

themselves

themselves in forming, I confess, that if we attentively examine the designs which have been planned from motives of vanity, confidence in good fortune, ignorance, nay, from sloth, and even timidity itself, we must be surpris'd to behold sovereigns plunged blindly into schemes, specious perhaps in appearance, but which at bottom have not the least degree of possibility. The mind of man, with so much complacency, nay, even with so much ardour, pursues whatever it fancies great or beautiful, that it is sorry to be made sensible, that these objects have frequently nothing real or solid in them. But in this, as well as in other things, there is an opposite extreme to be avoided; which is, that as we usually fail in the execution of great designs, from not commencing and continuing them with sufficient vigour and spirit; so likewise we are defective in the knowledge of their true worth and tendency, because we do not thoroughly and properly consider them in all their dependencies and consequences. I have myself been more difficult to persuade in this matter, than perhaps any of those who shall read these Memoirs; and this I consider as an effect of that cold, cautious, and unenterprizing temper, which makes so considerable a part of my character.

I remember the first time the king spoke to me of a political system, by which all Europe might be regulated and governed as one great family, I scarce paid any attention to what he said, imagining that he meant no more by it than merely to divert himself, or perhaps to shew, that his thoughts on political subjects were greater, and penetrated deeper, than most others: my reply was a mixture of pleasantry and compliment. Henry said no more at that time. He often confessed to me afterwards, that he had long concealed from me what he meditated on this subject, from a principle of shame, which many labour under, lest they should disclose designs which might appear ridiculous or impossible. I was astonished when, some time after, he renewed
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our conversation on this head, and continued from year to year, to entertain me with new regulations and new improvements in his scheme.

I had been very far from thinking seriously about it. If by accident it came into my thoughts for a moment, the first view of the design, which supposed a re-union of all the different states of Europe; immense expences, at a time when France could scarce supply her own necessities; a concatenation of events which to me appeared infinite: these were considerations which had always made me reject the thought as vain; I even apprehended there was some illusion in it: I recollected some of those enterprizes in which we had endeavoured to engage Europe. I considered those in particular which had been formed by some of our kings, from much less considerable motives; and I felt myself disgusted with this, from the bad success of all the former. The disposition of the princes of Europe to take umbrage against France, when she would have assisted them to dissipate their fears from the too great power of Spain, this alone to me appeared an insurmountable obstacle.

Strongly prejudiced by this opinion, I used my utmost efforts to undeceive Henry, who, on his side, surprised not to find me of his sentiment in any one point, immediately undertook and readily succeeded in convincing me, that my thus indiscriminately condemning all parts of his project, in which he was certain that every thing at least was not blameable, could proceed from nothing but strong prejudices. I could not refuse, at his solicitations, to use my endeavours to gain a thorough comprehension of it: I formed a clearer plan of it in my mind: I collected and united all its different branches: I studied all its proportions and dimensions, if I may say so; and I discovered in them a regularity and mutual dependance, of which, when I only considered the design in a confused and careless manner, I had not been at all sensible. The benefit
which

which would manifestly arise from it to all Europe, was what most immediately struck me, as being in effect the plainest and most evident; but the means to effect so good a design were, therefore, what I hesitated at the longest. The general situation of the affairs of Europe, and of our own in particular, appeared to me every way contrary to the execution: I did not consider that, as the execution of it might be deferred till a proper opportunity, we had all those resources whereby to prepare ourselves, which time affords those who know how to make the best use of it. I was at last convinced, that however disproportionate the means might appear to the effect, a course of years, during which every thing should as much as possible be made subservient to the great object in view, would surmount many difficulties. It is indeed somewhat extraordinary, that this point, which appeared to be, and really was, the most difficult of any, should at last become the most easy.

Having thus seen all parts of the design in their just points of view, having thoroughly considered and calculated, and from thence discovered and prepared for all events which might happen, I found myself confirmed in the opinion, that the design of Henry the Great was, upon the whole, just in its intention, possible, and even practicable in all its parts, and infinitely glorious in all its effects: so that, upon all occasions, I was the first to recal the king to his engagements, and sometimes to convince him by those very arguments which he himself had taught me.

The constant attention this prince paid to all affairs transacted round him, from an effect of those singularly unhappy circumstances, by which, in almost every instant of his life, he found himself embarrassed, had been the cause of his forming this design, even from the time when, being called to the crown by the death of Henry III. he considered the humbling of the house of Austria as
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what was absolutely necessary for his security; yet, if he was not beholden to Elizabeth * for his thought of the design, it is, however, certain that this great queen had herself conceived it long before, as a means to revenge Europe for the attempts of its common enemy. The troubles in which all the following years were engaged, the war which succeeded in 1595, and that against Savoy after the peace of Vervins, forced Henry into difficulties which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of other affairs; and it was not till after his marriage, and the firm re-establishment of peace, that he renewed his thoughts upon his first design, to execute which, appeared then more impossible, or at least more improbable, than ever.

He, nevertheless, communicated it by letters to Elizabeth, and this was what inspired them with so strong an inclination to confer together in 1601, when this princess came to Dover, and Henry to Calais. What the ceremony of an interview would not have permitted them to do, I at last begun by the voyage which I made to this princess. I found her deeply engaged in the means by which this great design might be successfully executed; and, notwithstanding the difficulties which she apprehended in its two principal points, namely, the agreement of religions, and the equality of the

* The present duke of Sully is possessed of the original of an excellent letter of Henry the Great, supposed to have been wrote by him to queen Elizabeth, though this princess is not named, neither in the body of the letter, nor in the superscription, which is in these words: *To her who merits immortal praise.* The terms in which Henry herein speaks of a certain political project, which he calls, *The most excellent and rare enterprise that ever the human mind conceived—a thought rather divine than human;* the praises which he bestows upon *this discourse so well connected and demonstrative of what*

would be necessary for the government of empires and kingdoms—on those conceptions and resolutions from which nothing less may be hoped than most remarkable issues both of honour and glory. All these passages can relate to none but Elizabeth, nor mean any other than the great design in question, concerning which it from hence evidently appears, that the queen of England had by letters disclosed her thoughts to Henry. The letter from which these extracts are taken, is dated from Paris, the 11th of July; but without the date of the year. *Lettres de Henry le Grand.*

powers, she did not to me appear at all to doubt of its success, which she chiefly expected, for a reason, the justness of which I have since been well convinced of; and this was, that, as the plan was really only contrary to the design of some princes, whose ambitious views were sufficiently known to all Europe, this difficulty, from which the necessity of the design more evidently appeared, would rather promote than retard its success. She farther said, that its execution by any other means than that of arms, would be very desirable, as this has always something odious in it: but she confessed, that indeed it would be hardly possible to begin it any otherwise. A very great number of the articles, conditions, and different dispositions, is due to this queen; and sufficiently shew, that in respect of wisdom, penetration, and all the other perfections of the mind, she was not inferior to any king, the most truly deserving of that title.

It must indeed be considered as a very great misfortune, that Henry could not at this time second the intentions of the queen of England, who wished to have the design put in immediate execution; but when he thus laid the foundation of the edifice, he scarce hoped to see the time when the finishing hand would be put to it. The recovery of his own kingdom from the various maladies by which it was afflicted, was a work of several years; and unhappily he had himself seen forty-eight when he began it: he pursued it, nevertheless, with the greatest vigour. The edict of Nantz had been published with this view, and every other means was used which might gain the respect and confidence of the princes of Europe. Henry and I, at the same time, applied ourselves with indefatigable labour to regulate the interior affairs of the kingdom. We considered the death of the king of Spain as the most favourable event that could happen to our design; but it received so violent a shock by the death of Elizabeth, as had like to have made us abandon all our hopes.

Henry

Henry had no expectation that the powers of the north, nor king James, the successor of Elizabeth, when he was acquainted with his character, would any of them so readily consent to support him in his design, as this princess had done. However, the new allies which he daily gained in Germany, and even in Italy, comforted him a little for the loss of Elizabeth. The truce between Spain and the Low Countries may also be numbered among incidents favourable to it.

Yet, if we consider all the obstacles which afterwards arose in his own kingdom, from the protestants, the catholics, the clergy, nay even from his own council, it will appear as if all things conspired against it. Could it be imagined that Henry, in his whole council, should not find one person, besides myself, to whom he could, without danger, disclose the whole of his designs? and that the respect due to him, could scarce restrain those who appeared most devoted to his service, from treating what, with the greatest circumspection, he had entrusted them with, as wild and extravagant chimeras? But nothing discouraged Henry, who was an abler politician and a better judge than all his council, and than all his kingdom, when he perceived that, notwithstanding all these obstacles, affairs began, both at home and abroad, to appear in a favourable situation, he then considered the success as infallible.

Nor will this his judgment, when thoroughly considered, be found so presumptuous as, from a slight examination, it may appear to some. For what did he hereby require of Europe? Nothing more than that it should promote the means by which he proposed to fix it in the position, towards which, by his efforts, it for some time had tended. These means he rendered so easy to execute, that it would scarce require what many of the princes of Europe would voluntarily sacrifice, for advantages much less real, less certain, and less durable. What they would gain by it, besides the inestimable benefits

arising from peace, would greatly exceed all the expences they would be at. What reason then could any of them have to oppose it? and, if they did not oppose it, how could the house of Austria support itself against powers, in whom the desire and pleasure of depriving it of that strength which it had used only to oppress them, would have raised against it as many open as it had secret enemies? that is all Europe entire? Nor would these princes have any reason to be jealous of the restorer of their liberty; for he was so far from seeking to re-imburse himself for all the expences which his generosity would hereby engage him in, that his intention was voluntarily and for ever to relinquish all power of augmenting his dominions; not only by conquest, but by all other just and lawful means. By this he would have discovered the secret to convince all his neighbours that his whole design was to save, both himself and them, those immense sums which the maintenance of so many thousand soldiers, so many fortified places, and so many military expences require; to free them for ever from the fear of those bloody catastrophes so common in Europe; to procure them an uninterrupted repose; and, finally, to unite them all in an indissoluble bond of security and friendship, after which they might live together like brethren, and reciprocally visit like good neighbours, without the trouble of ceremony, and without the expence of a train of attendants, which princes use at best only for ostentation, and frequently to conceal their misery. Does it not indeed reflect shame and reproach on a people who affect to be so polished and refined in their manners, that all their pretended improvements have not yet (I will not say procured them tranquillity, but only) guarded them from these barbarities which they detest in nations the most savage and uncultivated? and to destroy these pernicious seeds of confusion and disorder, and to prevent the barbarities of which they are the cause, could any scheme have been more happily

happily and perfectly contrived than that of Henry the Great?

Here then is all that could be reasonably expected or required. It is only in the power of man to prepare and act; success is the work of a more mighty hand. Sensible people cannot be blamed for being prejudiced in favour of the scheme in question, from this circumstance only, that it was formed by the two potentates whom posterity will always consider as the most perfect models of the art of governing. In regard to Henry in particular, I insist that it belongs only to princes, who, like him, have had a constant succession of obstacles to encounter in all their designs. These, I say, are the princes who alone are privileged to judge what are real obstacles; and, when we behold them willing to lay down their lives in support of their opinions, surely we may abide by their sentiments, without fear of being deceived. For my own part, I shall always think with regret, that France, by the blow which it received from the loss of this great prince, was deprived of a glory far superior to that which his reign had acquired*. There remains only to explain the several parts of the design, and the manner in which they were to be executed. We will begin by what relates to religion.

Two religions principally prevail in Christendom, the roman and the reformed; but, as this latter admits of several variations in its worship, which render it, if not as different from itself as from the roman, at least as far from being re-united, it is therefore necessary to divide it in two, one of which may be called the reformed, and the other the protestant religion. The manner in which these three religions prevail in Europe is extremely various.

* From hence we may discover what credit should be given to Sully, when he says, that the sole passion of Henry the Great was to amass riches; that his minister forced him into the design against his in-

clination; and that the duke of Sully, whom he believes to be the sole author of it, was himself prepossessed in its favour only from mere obstinacy, or perhaps from motives of self-interest.

Italy and Spain remain in possession of the roman religion, pure and without mixture of any other. The reformed religion subsists in France with the roman, only under favour of the edicts, and is the weakest. England, Denmark, Sweden, the Low-Countries, and Switzerland, have also a mixture of the same kind, but with this difference, that in them the protestant is the governing religion, the others are only tolerated. Germany unites all these, and even in several of its circles, as well as in Poland, shews them equal favour. I say nothing of Muscovy or Russia. These vast countries, which are not less than six hundred leagues in length, and four hundred in breadth, being in great part still idolaters, and in part schismatics, such as Greeks and Arminians, who have introduced so many superstitious practices in their worship, that there scarce remains any conformity with us among them; besides, that they belong to Asia at least as much as to Europe, we may indeed almost consider them as a barbarous country, and place them in the same class with Turkey, tho', for these five hundred years, we have ranked them among the christian powers.

Each of these three religions being now established in Europe, in such a manner that there is not the least appearance that any of them can be destroyed, and experience having sufficiently demonstrated the inutility and danger of such an enterprize, the best therefore that can be done, is to preserve, and even strengthen all of them in such a manner, nevertheless, that this indulgence may not become an encouragement to the production of new sects or opinions, which should carefully be suppressed on their first appearance. God himself, by manifestly supporting what the catholics were pleased to call the new religion, has taught us this conduct, which is not less conformable to the Holy Scriptures than confirmed by its examples; and, besides, the unsurmountable difficulty of forcing the Pope's authority to be received in those places where it is now

no longer acknowledged, renders what is here proposed absolutely necessary. Several cardinals equally sagacious and zealous, and even some Popes, as Clement VIII. and Paul V. were of this opinion.

All, therefore, that remains now to be done, is to strengthen the nations, who have made choice of one of these religions, in the principles they profess, as there is nothing in all respects so pernicious as a liberty in belief; and those nations, whose inhabitants profess several, or all these religions, should be careful to observe those rules which they find necessary to remedy the ordinary inconveniences of a toleration, which, in other respects, they probably experience to be beneficial. Italy, therefore, professing the roman religion, and being moreover the residence of the Popes, should preserve this religion in all its purity, and there would be no hardship in obliging all its inhabitants, either to conform to it, or quit the country. The same regulation, very nearly, might be observed in regard to Spain. In such states as that of France, where there is at least a governing religion, whoever should think the regulation too severe, by which calvinism would be always subordinate to the religion of the prince, might be permitted to depart the country. No new regulation would be necessary in any of the other nations; no violence on this account, but liberty unrestrained, seeing this liberty is become even a fundamental principle in their governments.

Thus we may perceive every thing on this head might be reduced to a very few maxims, so much the more certain and invariable, as they were not contrary to the sentiments of any one. The protestants are very far from pretending to force their religion upon any of their neighbours, by whom it is not voluntarily embraced. The catholics, doubtless, are of the same sentiments, and the Pope would receive no injury in being deprived of what he confesses himself not to have possessed for a long time. His sacrificing these chimerical rights would be

abundantly compensated by the regal dignity with which it would be proper to invest him, and by the honour of being afterwards the common mediator between all the christian princes, a dignity which he would then enjoy without jealousy, and for which it must be confessed this court, by its sagacious conduct, has shewn itself the most proper of any.

Another point of the political scheme, which also concerns religion, relates to the infidel princes of Europe, and consists in forcing those entirely out of it who refuse to conform to any of the christian doctrines of religion. Should the grand duke of Muscovy, or czar of Russia, who is believed to be the antient khan of Scythia, refuse to enter into the association after it is proposed to him, he ought to be treated like the sultan of Turkey, deprived of his possessions in Europe, and confined to Asia only, where he might, as long as he pleased, without any interruption from us, continue the wars in which he is almost constantly engaged against the Turks and Persians.

To succeed in the execution of this, which will not appear difficult, if we suppose that all christian princes unanimously concurred in it, it would only be necessary for each of them to contribute, in proportion to their several abilities, towards the support of the forces, and all the other incidental expences, which the success of such an enterprize might require. These respective quotas were to have been determined by a general council, of which we shall speak hereafter. The following is what Henry the Great had himself conceived on this head. The Pope for this expedition should have furnished eight thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and ten gallies; the emperor and the circles of Germany, sixty thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, five large cannons, and ten gallies or other vessels; the king of France twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, twenty cannons, and ten ships or gallies; Spain, Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the like number with France, observing only,

only, that these powers should together supply what belonged to the sea service in the manner most suitable to their respective conveniences and abilities therein ; the king of Bohemia five thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and five cannons ; the king of Hungary twelve thousand foot, five thousand horse, twenty cannons, and six ships ; the duke of Savoy, or king of Lombardy, eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, eight cannons, and six gallies ; the republic of Venice ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and twenty-five gallies ; the republic of the Swiss cantons fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and twelve cannons ; the republic of Holland twelve thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, twelve cannons, and twelve ships ; the Italian republics ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and eight gallies ; the whole together amounting to about two hundred and seventy thousand foot, fifty thousand horse, two hundred cannons, and one hundred and twenty ships or gallies, equipped and maintained at the expence of all those powers, each contributing according to his particular proportion.

This armament of the princes and states of Europe appears so inconsiderable and so little burdensome, when compared with the forces which they usually keep on foot to awe their neighbours, or perhaps their own subjects, that were it to have subsisted, even perpetually, it would not have occasioned any inconvenience, and would have been an excellent military academy : but, besides that the enterprizes for which it was destined, would not always have continued ; the number and expence of it might have been diminished in proportion to the necessities, which would always have been the same. Tho' I am persuaded such an armament would have been so highly approved of by all these princes, that, after they had conquered with it whatever they would not suffer any stranger should share with them in Europe, they would have sought to join to it such parts of Asia as were most commodiously

diously situated, and particularly the whole coast of Africa, which is too near to our own territories for us not to be frequently incommoded by it. The only precaution to be observed in regard to these additional countries, would have been to form them into new kingdoms, declare them united with the rest of the christian powers, and bestow them on different princes; carefully observing to exclude those who before bore rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

That part of the design which may be considered as purely political, turned almost entirely on a first preliminary, which, I think, would not have met with more difficulty than the preceding article. This was to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and of all the possessions in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries: in a word, to reduce it to the sole kingdom of Spain, bounded by the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenean mountains. But that it might, nevertheless, be equally powerful with the other sovereignties of Europe, it should have Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca; and, in the other islands on its own coasts, the Canaries, the Azores, and Cape-Verd, with its possessions in Africa, Mexico, and the American islands which belong to it; countries which alone might suffice to found great kingdoms: finally, the Philippines, Goa, the Moluccas, and its other possessions in Asia.

From hence a method seems to present itself, by which the house of Austria might be made amends for what it would be deprived of in Europe, which is, to increase its dominions in the three other parts of the world, by assisting it to obtain, and by declaring it the sole proprietor, both of what we do know, and what we may hereafter discover in those parts. We may suppose, that, on this occasion, it would not have been necessary to use force to bring this house to concur in such a design; and, indeed, even on this supposition, it was not the prince of this house reigning in Spain, to whom these parts of the world were to be subjected, but to different
princes

princes of the same or of different branches, who, in acknowledgment of their possessions, should only have rendered homage to the crown of Spain, or, at most, a tribute, as due to the original conquerors. This house, which is so very desirous of being the most powerful in the world, might hereby have continued to flatter itself with so pleasing a pre-eminence, without the other powers being endangered by its pretended grandeur.

The steps taken by the house of Austria to arrive at universal monarchy, which evidently appears from the whole conduct of Charles V. and his son, have rendered this severity as just as it is necessary; and I will venture to say, that this house would not have had any reasonable cause to complain of it. It is true, it would be deprived of the empire; but when impartially considered, it will appear that all the other princes of Germany, and even of Europe, have an equal right to it. Were it necessary to prove this, we need only recollect on what conditions Charles V. himself, the most powerful of them all, was acknowledged emperor; conditions which, at Smalcalde, he solemnly swore to observe, in presence of seven princes or electors, and the deputies of twenty-four protestant towns; the landgrave of Hesse and the prince of Anhalt being speakers for all of them. He swore, I say, never to act contrary to the established laws of the empire, particularly the famous golden bull, obtained under Charles IV. unless it were to amplify them, and even that only with the express consent and advice of the sovereign princes of Germany: not to infringe nor deprive them of any of their privileges; not to introduce foreigners into their council; not to make either war or peace without their consent; not to bestow honours and employments but on natives of Germany; not to use any other but the German language in all writings; not to levy any taxes by his own authority, nor apply any conquests which might be made, to his own particular profit. He,
in

in particular, formally renounced all pretences of hereditary right in his house to the imperial dignity; and, according to the second article of the golden bull, he swore never in his life-time to recognize a king of the Romans. When the protestants of Germany, after they had in a manner driven Ferdinand out of it, consented to have the imperial crown placed on his head, they were careful to make him renew his engagements in regard to all these articles, and to all these new regulations relative to the free exercise of their religion.

As to the possessions of the house of Austria in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries, of which it was to be deprived, not to mention here how much it is indebted for them to a tyrannical usurpation, it would, after all, be only depriving it of territories which it keeps at so prodigious an expence (I speak, in particular, of Italy and the Low Countries) as all its treasures of the Indies have not been able to defray: and besides, by investing it with the exclusive privilege above-mentioned, of gaining new establishments, and appropriating to its own use the mines and treasures of the three other parts of the world, it would be abundantly indemnified; for these new acquisitions would be at least as considerable, and undoubtedly far more rich, than those. But what is here proposed must not be understood as if the other nations of Europe were excluded from all commerce to those countries; on the contrary, it should be free and open to every one, and the house of Austria, instead of considering this stipulation, which is of the greatest consequence, as an infringement of its privileges, would rather have reason to regard it as a farther advantage.

From a farther examination and consideration of these dispositions, I do not doubt but the house of Austria would have accepted the proposed conditions without being forced to it: but, supposing the contrary, what would a resistance have signified? The promise made to all the princes of Europe, of enriching

ing themselves by the territories of which this house was to be divested, would deprive it of all hopes of assistance from any of them.

Upon the whole then it appears, that all parties would have been gainers by it, and this was what assured Henry the Great of the success of his design: the empire would again become a dignity to which all princes, but particularly those of Germany, might aspire: and this dignity would be so much the more desirable, though, according to its original institution, no revenues would be annexed to it, as the emperor would be declared the first and chief magistrate of the whole christian republic; and as we may suppose this honour would afterwards be conferred only on the most worthy, all his privileges in this respect, instead of being diminished, would be enlarged, his authority over the Belgic and Helyetic republics would be more considerable, and upon every new election they would be obliged to render him a respectful homage. The electors would still continue to enjoy the right of electing the emperor, as well as of nominating the king of the Romans; with this restriction only, that the election should not be made twice together out of the same family. The first to have been elected in this manner, was the elector of Bavaria, who was also, in consequence of the partition, to have had those territories possessed by the house of Austria which joined to his own on the side of Italy.

The rest of these territories were to have been divided and equally distributed by the kings of France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, among the Venetians, the Grisons, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the marquis of Baden, Anspach, and Dourlach. Bohemia was to have been constituted an elective kingdom, by annexing it to Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Hungary was also to have been an elective kingdom, and the Pope, the emperor, the kings of France, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy, were to have had the
right

right of nomination to it: and because this kingdom may be considered as the barrier of Christendom against the infidels, it was to have been rendered the most powerful and able to resist them; and this was to have been done by immediately adding to it the archduchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; and by afterwards incorporating with it whatever might be acquired in Transilvania, Bosnia, Slavonia, and Croatia. The same electors were to have obliged themselves, by oath, to assist it upon all occasions; and they were to have been particularly careful never to grant their suffrages from partiality, artifice, or intrigue; but always to confer the dignity on a prince, who, by his great qualifications, particularly for war, should be generally acknowledged as most proper. Poland being, from its nearness to Turkey, Muscovy, and Tartary, in the same situation with Hungary, was also to have been an elective kingdom, by the same eight potentates; and its power was to have been augmented, by annexing to it whatever should be conquered from the infidels adjoining to its own frontiers, and by determining in its favour those disputes which it had with all its other neighbours. Switzerland, when augmented by Franche-compté, Alsace, Tirol, and other territories, was to have been united into a sovereign republic, governed by a council or senate, of which the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the Venetians, were to have been umpires.

The changes to be made in Italy were, that the Pope should be declared a secular prince, and bear rank among the monarchs of Europe, and under this title should possess Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and all their dependencies, which should be indissolubly united to St. Peter's patrimony; but in case the holy father had opposed this, which indeed could scarce have been supposed, the disposition must then have been changed, and the kingdom of Naples would have been divided and disposed of as the electoral kings should have determined. Sicily was to have

have been ceded to the republic of Venice, by letters from the same eight principal potentates, upon condition that it should render homage for it to every Pope, who should bear the title of Immediate chief of the whole Italian republic; otherwise, for this reason, called The republic of the church. The other members of this republic were to have been Genoa, Florence, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Lucca, without any alterations in their government: Bologna and Ferrara were to have been rendered free cities; and all these governments were every twenty years to have rendered homage to the Pope their chief, by the gift of a crucifix of the value of ten thousand crowns.

Of the three great republics of Europe, it appears, upon the first glance, that this would have been the most brilliant and the richest. Nevertheless, it would not have been so; for what belonged to the duke of Savoy was not comprized herein. His territories were to have been constituted one of the great monarchies of Europe, hereditary to males and females, and to have born the title of the kingdom of Lombardy; wherein, beside the territory so called, the Milanese and Montferrat would also have been comprized; and the duke of Mantua, in exchange for these, was to have the duchy of Cremona. An authentic testimony of the institution would have been given by the Pope, the emperor, and the other sovereigns of the christian republic.

Among all these different dismemberings, we may observe that France received nothing for itself, but the glory of distributing them with equity. Henry had declared this to be his intention long before. He even sometimes said, with equal moderation and good sense, that were these dispositions once firmly established, he would have voluntarily consented to have the extent of France determined by a majority of suffrages*. Nevertheless, as the districts of

* What then does Siri mean, sign which he falsely affirms Henry when he entertains us with the de- the Great had to join Lorrain to Artois,

Artois, Hainault, Cambray, Cambresis, Tournay, Namure, and Luxembourg, might more suitably be annexed to France than any other nation, they were to have been ceded to Henry; but to have been divided into ten distinct governments, and bestowed on so many French princes or lords, all of them bearing rank as sovereigns.

In regard to England it was precisely the same: this was a determined point between Elizabeth and Henry, the two princes who were authors of the scheme, probably from an observation made by this queen, that the Britannic isles, in all the different states through which they had passed, whether under one or several monarchs, elective, hereditary, masculine, or feminine, and among all the variations of their laws and policy, had never experienced any great disappointments or misfortunes, but when their sovereigns had meddled in affairs out of their little continent. It seems, indeed, as if they were concentrated in it even by nature, and their happiness appears to depend entirely on themselves, without having any concerns with their neighbours, provided that they seek only to maintain peace in the three nations subject to them, by governing each according to its own laws and customs. To render every thing equal between France and England, Brabant from the duchy of Limbourg, the jurisdiction of Malines, and the other dependencies on Flemish Flanders, Gallican or Imperial, were to have been formed into eight sovereign fiefs, to be given to so many princes or lords of this nation.

These two parts excepted, all the rest of the seventeen United Provinces, whether belonging to Spain or not, were to have been erected into a free and independent state, under the title of the Bel-

France, Tom. I. p. 555? and to get Savoy ceded to him, Tom. II. p. 61? What he says of the dispositions, in regard to the Pope and the Venetians, &c. Tom. II. p. 186. is equally false. This writer seems indeed to have been in the pay of the house of Austria.

gic republic; though there was one other fief to be formed from them, bearing the title of a principality, to be granted to the prince of Orange; also some other inconsiderable indemnities for three or four other persons. The succession of Cleves was to have been divided among those princes whom the emperor would have deprived of it, as the means of gratifying them at the expence of the house of Austria, as well as some other princes of the same district, to whom the imperial towns situated therein, would have been granted. Even Sweden and Denmark, though they were to be considered as under the influence of the same law which England and France had imposed on themselves, would, by this distribution, have enlarged their territories, and acquired other considerable advantages. An end would have been put to the perpetual troubles which agitated these two kingdoms; and this, I think, would have been rendering them no inconsiderable service. All these cessions, exchanges, and transpositions towards the north of Germany, were to have been determined by the kings of France, England, and Lombardy, and the republic of Venice.

And now perhaps the purport of the design may be perceived, which was to divide Europe equally among a certain number of powers, in such a manner, that none of them might have cause either of envy or fear, from the possessions or power of the others. The number of them was reduced to fifteen; and they were of three kinds: six great hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies, and four sovereign republics. The six hereditary monarchies were France, Spain, England or Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies were the Empire, the Papacy or Pontificate, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; the four republics were the Venetian, the Italian, or what, from its dukes, may be called the Ducal, the Swiss, Helvetic

ric or Confederate, and the Belgic, or Provincial republic.

The laws and ordinances proper to cement an union between all these princes, and to maintain that harmony which should be once established among them, the reciprocal oaths and engagements in regard both to religion and policy, the mutual assurances in respect to the freedom of commerce, and the measures to be taken to make all these partitions with equity and to the general content and satisfaction of the parties: all these matters are to be understood; nor is it necessary to say any thing of the precaution taken by Henry in regard to them. The most that could have happened would have been some trifling difficulties, which would easily have been obviated in the general council, representing all the states of Europe; the establishment of which was certainly the happiest invention that could have been conceived, to prevent those innovations which time often introduces in the wisest and most useful institutions.

The model of this general council of Europe had been formed on that of the antient Amphycitions of Greece, with such alterations only as rendered it suitable to our customs, climate, and policy. It consisted of a certain number of commissaries, ministers, or plenipotentiaries from all the governments of the christian republic, who were to be constantly assembled as a senate, to deliberate on any affairs which might occur; to discuss the different interests, pacify the quarrels, clear up and determine all the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, whether within itself or with its neighbours. The form and manner of proceeding in the senate would have been more particularly determined by the suffrages of the senate itself. Henry was of opinion that it should be composed of four commissaries from each of the following potentates: The Emperor, the Pope, the kings of
France,

France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy, Poland, and the republic of Venice; and of two only from the other republics and inferior powers, which all together would have composed a senate of about sixty-six persons, who should have been rechose every three years.

In regard to the place of meeting, it remained to have been determined, whether it would be better for the council to be fixed or ambulatory, divided in three, or united in one. If it were divided into three, each containing twenty-two magistrates, then each of them must have been fixed in such a center as should appear to be most commodious, as Paris or Bourges for one, and somewhere about Trente and Cracovia for the two others. If it were judged more expedient not to divide their assembly, whether fixed or ambulatory, it must have been nearly in the center of Europe, and would consequently have been fixed in some one of the fourteen cities following: Metz, Luxembourg, Nancy, Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Franckfort, Wirtzbουργ, Heidelberg, Spire, Worms, Straßbourg, Bale, Bisançon.

Besides this general council, it would perhaps have been proper to have constituted some others, of an inferior degree, for the particular convenience of different districts. For example, were six such created, they might have been placed at Dantzick, Nuremberg, Vienna, Bologna, Constance; and the last, wherever it should be judged most convenient for the kingdoms of France, Spain, England, and the Belgic republic. But whatever the number or form of these particular councils might have been, it would have been absolutely necessary, that they should be subordinate, and recur, by appeal, to the great general council, whose decisions, when considered as proceeding from the united authority of all the sovereigns pronounced in a manner equally free and absolute, must have been regarded as so many final and irrevocable decrees.

But let us quit these speculative designs, in which practice and experience would perhaps have caused many alterations; and let us come to the means actually employed by Henry to facilitate the execution of his great design.

To gain one of the most powerful princes of Europe, with whom to concert all his designs, was what Henry always considered as of the utmost consequence: and this was the reason, that after the death of Elizabeth, who had indissolubly united the interest of the two crowns of France and England, every means was used which might inspire her successor, king James, with all her sentiments. Had I but succeeded in the solemn embassy, the particulars of which I have related already, so far as to have gained this prince's consent to have his name appear openly with Henry's, this military confederacy, especially if it had, in like manner, been strengthened with the names of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, would have prevented the troubles and difficulties of many negotiations: but nothing farther could be obtained of the king of England, than the same promises which were required of the other courts; namely, that he would not only not oppose the confederacy, but when Henry had made his designs public, would declare himself in his favour, and contribute towards it in the same manner as the other powers interested therein. A means was, indeed, afterwards found to obtain the execution of this promise, in a manner so much the more easy, as it did not disturb the natural indolence of this prince; and this was, by getting what he hesitated to undertake in his own name, executed by his son, the prince of Wales, who, as soon as he had obtained his father's promise, that he would at least not obstruct his proceedings, prevented Henry's utmost wishes; being animated with a thirst of glory, and desire to render himself worthy the esteem and alliance of Henry; for he was to marry the eldest of the daughters of France. He wrote me several letters upon

upon this subject, and expressed himself in the manner I have mentioned. He also farther said, that the king of France might depend upon having six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, which he would oblige himself to bring into his service whenever they should be required: and this number was afterwards augmented by two thousand more foot, and eight cannons, maintained in all respects at the expence of England for three years at least. The king of Sweden did not shew himself less zealous for the common cause; and the king of Denmark also appeared to be equally well disposed in its favour.

In the mean time we were indefatigable in our negotiations in the different courts of Europe, particularly in the circles of Germany and the United Provinces, where the king, for this purpose, had sent Boissise, Fresne-Canaye, Baugy, Ancel, and Bongars. The council of the States were very soon unanimous in their determinations: the prince of Orange sent the sieurs Malderet and Brederode from them, to offer the king fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. They were soon followed by the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt, to whom, as well as to the prince of Orange, the confederacy was obliged for being increased by the duke of Savoy; by all of the reformed religion in Hungary, Bohemia, and Lower Austria; by many protestant princes and towns in Germany; in fine, by all the Swiss Cantons of this religion. And when the succession of Cleves, which the Emperor shewed himself disposed to usurp, became another incentive to the confederacy, there was then scarce any part of Germany that was not for us, which evidently appeared from the result of the general assembly at Hall. The elector of Saxony, who perhaps remained alone of the opposite party, might have been embarrassed in an affair, out of which he would probably have found it difficult to extricate himself; and this was to have been done, by sug-

getting to him the branch of John Frederic, deprived of this electorate by Charles V.

There were several of these powers, in regard to whom I am persuaded nothing would have been risked, by disclosing to them the whole intent and scope of the design. On the contrary, they would probably have seconded it with the greater ardour, when they found the destruction of the Austrian grandeur was a determined point. These powers were, more particularly, the Venetians, the United Provinces, almost all the protestants, and especially the evangelics of Germany. But as too many precautions could not be taken, to prevent the catholic powers from being prejudiced against the new alliance in which they were to be engaged; a too hasty discovery, either of the true motives, or the whole intent of the design, was therefore cautiously avoided. It was at first concealed from all without exception, and afterwards revealed but to a few persons of approved discretion, and those only such as were absolutely necessary to engage others to join the confederacy. The association was for a long time spoke of to others only as a kind of general treaty of peace, wherein such methods would be projected, as the public benefit, and the general service of Europe, might suggest as necessary to stop the progress of the excessive power of the house of Austria. Our ambassadors and agents had orders only to demand of these princes a renewal or commencement of alliance, in order more effectually to succeed in the projected peace; to consult with them upon the means whereby to effect it; to appear as if they were sent only, in conjunction with them, to endeavour the discovery of these means; but yet to sound them, and according to the disposition in which they were, to insinuate, as if by accidental conjecture, some notion of a new method more proper to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, and to secure to each religion a more undisturbed repose than they had hitherto enjoyed. The proposals
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made to the kings of England and Sweden, and the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, for alliances by marriage, proved very successful: it was absolutely determined, that the Dauphin should espouse the heiress of Lorrain, which dutchy still continued, as before, to depend on the Empire.

But no precaution appeared so necessary, nor was more strongly recommended to our negotiators, than to convince all the princes of Europe of the disinterestedness with which Henry was resolved to act on this occasion. This point was indefatigably laboured, and they were convinced of it, when, on the supposition that it would be necessary to have recourse to arms, we strongly protested, that the forces, the treasures, and even the person of Henry, might be depended on; and this in a manner so generous on his side, that, instead of expecting to be rewarded, or even indemnified for them, he was voluntarily inclined to give the most positive assurances, not to reserve to himself a single town, nor the smallest district. This moderation, of which at last no one doubted, made a suitable impression, especially when it was perceived to be so much the more generous, as there was sufficient to excite and satisfy the desires of all. And, in the interim, before the solemn publication of this absolute renunciation, which was to have been made in the manifestoes that were preparing, Henry gave a proof of it, that was an absolute demonstration to the Pope.

No one being ignorant that as it was, at least, intended to deprive Spain of those of its usurpations which were the most manifestly unjust; Navarre and Roussillon would infallibly revert to France; the king therefore voluntarily offered to exchange them for the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and at the same time to make a present of both to the Pope and the republic of Venice. This, certainly, was renouncing the most incontestible right

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he could have to any of the territories of which this crown was to be deprived; and by submitting this affair, as he did, to the determination of the Pope and the Venetians, he the more sensibly obliged them, as both the honour and profit which might arise therefore would be in their favour. The Pope, therefore, on the first proposition made to him, even prevented Henry's intentions; he immediately demanded, whether, as affairs were then circumstanced, the several powers would approve his taking upon him the office of common mediator, to establish peace in Europe, and convert the continual wars among its several princes, into a perpetual war against the Infidels; which is a part of the design he had been very careful to acquaint him with: and the Pope sufficiently shewed, that he was desirous nothing should be done without his participation; and that he was still less disposed to refuse the advantage offered to him.

Paul V. when a favourable opportunity offered, explained himself more openly on this head. Ubaldini, his nuncio, told the king, that his holiness, for the confederacy against the house of Austria, would, on various pretences, engage to raise ten thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and ten canons; provided that his majesty would promise to defray the necessary expences of their subsistence for three years; would give all possible security for the cession of Naples, and the other rights of homage, according to promise; and would sincerely consent to the other condition, in regard to the treaty which he should think necessary to impose. These conditions, at least the principal of them, were, that only catholics should be elected emperors; that the roman religion should be maintained in all its rights, and the ecclesiastics in all their privileges and immunities; and the protestants should not be permitted to establish themselves in places where they were not established before the treaty. The king promised Ubaldini, that he would religiously ob-

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serve all these conditions; and farther, he relinquished to the Pope the honour of being the arbitrator of all those regulations to be made in the establishment of the new republic.

The removing of these difficulties in regard to the Pope, was of no inconsiderable consequence; for his example would not fail to be of great force in determining the other catholic powers, especially those of Italy. Nothing was neglected which might promote the favourable dispositions in which they appeared to be, by punctually paying the cardinals and petty princes of Italy their pensions, and even by adding to them several other gratuities. The establishment of a new monarchy in Italy was the only pretence these petty courts had for not joining the confederacy; but this vain apprehension would be easily dissipated. The particular advantages which each would acquire, might alone have satisfied them in this respect; but if not, all opposers might have been threatened with being declared, after a certain time, divested of all right to the proposed advantages, and even of all pretensions to the empire, or the elective kingdoms; and that the republics amongst them should be converted into sovereignties, and sovereignties into republics. There is but little probability that any of them would even have demurred what to do. The punishment of the first offender would have compelled the submission of all these petty states, who were besides sufficiently sensible of their importance. But this method was not to be used but on failure of all others; and even then, no opportunity would have been neglected of shewing them favour.

And now we are arrived at the point to which every thing was advanced, at the fatal moment of the death of Henry the Great; and the following is a circumstantial detail of the forces for the war, which all the parties concerned had, in conjunction with him, agreed to furnish: The contingents of the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark, were

each eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and eight cannons; to be raised and maintained, in all respects, at their expence, at least for three years; and this expence, reckoning ten livres a month for each foot soldier, thirty livres for each trooper, the pay of the officers included, and the year to be composed of ten months, would amount, for each of these states, to three millions three hundred and seventy thousand livres for three years; the expence of the artillery, fifteen hundred livres a month for each piece, being also included. The princes of Germany beforementioned, were to furnish twenty-five thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and forty cannons: they had themselves computed the expence at nine or ten millions for three years. The United Provinces, twelve thousand foot, two thousand horse, and ten cannons: the expence twelve millions. Hungary, Bohemia, and the other evangelics of Germany, the same number, and nearly at the same expence. The Pope, ten thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and eight cannons. The duke of Savoy, eighteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve cannons. The Venerians, twelve thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve cannons. The expence of these last mentioned armaments the king himself had engaged to defray. The total of all these foreign forces, allowing for deficiencies, which might probably have happened, would always have been, at least, one hundred thousand foot, from twenty to twenty-five thousand horse, and about one hundred and twenty cannons.

The king, on his side, had actually on foot two good and well furnished armies; the first, which he was to have commanded in person, consisted of twenty thousand foot, all native French, eight thousand Switzers, four thousand Lansquenets or Walloons, five thousand horse, and twenty cannons. The second, to be commanded by Lesdiguières, in the neighbourhood of the Alps, consisted of ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and ten cannons; beside

beside a flying camp, of four thousand foot, six hundred horse, and ten cannons; and a reserve of two thousand foot, to garrison such places where they might be necessary*. We will here make a general calculation of all these troops.

The twenty thousand foot, at twenty-one livres a month to each man, including the appointments of generals and officers, would, by the month, require four hundred and twenty thousand livres, and by the year, five millions and forty thousand livres; the eight thousand Switzers and four thousand Lansquenets, three millions; the five thousand horse, at sixty livres a month to each, by the month, would require two hundred and forty thousand livres, and by the year, two millions eight hundred and forty thousand livres: this computation is made so high as sixty livres a month to each, because the pay of the officers, and particularly of the king's white troops, composed of a thousand men of the first rank in the kingdom, who served as volunteers, was therein included. The expence of the twenty large cannons, six culverins, and four demi-culverins, supposing all necessary furniture for them provided, would amount to three thousand six hundred livres a month for each piece; the thirty together would consequently require one hundred and eight thousand livres. Extraordinary expences and losses, in regard to the provisions and ammunition for this army, might be computed at one hundred and fifty thousand livres.

And for expences, whether ordinary or extraordinary, in spies, for the sick and wounded, and

* There are some variations in many, sometimes computed even our Memoirs in regard to the number of men, both in the royal army, which, in different places, is said to be composed of thirty, thirty-two, and thirty-six thousand foot, of four, five, six, and eight thousand horse, and from thirty to fifty cannons; and in that of the confederate princes of Ger-

many, sometimes computed even at forty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; similar differences do often occur in regard to those of Italy, and the other confederate princes: neither are the calculations of the expence always the same, nor quite just in their estimates.

other unforeseen contingencies, computing at the highest, a like sum of one million eight hundred thousand livres. To supply the deficiencies which might happen in the armies of the confederate princes, to pay the pensions, and to answer other particular exigences which might arise in the kingdom, three hundred thousand livres a month; for the year, three millions six hundred thousand livres. The army of Lesdiguières would require three millions a year; and as much for each of the armies of the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy. These four last articles together, make twelve millions a year; which, added to the preceding sums, amount in the whole to about thirty millions one hundred and sixty thousand livres a year.

It remains only to triple this total for the three years, during which it was supposed there might be occasion for the forces, and the whole amount will appear to be between ninety and ninety-one millions, which might nearly be necessary to defray the expences of the intended war; I say nearly, for in this calculation I have not included the flying camp, nor the two thousand men for garrisons: the first of these two articles, at the rate of eighteen livres a month to each foot soldier, and fifty livres to each trooper, would require a further sum of about one hundred and thirty thousand livres a month; which, for a year, would be one million five hundred thousand livres, and four millions five hundred thousand livres for three years: the second article for the three years, would require about twelve hundred thousand livres.

On a supposition that the expence of France, on this occasion, would not have amounted to more than between ninety and ninety-five millions; which supposition is far from being hazardous, because we have here computed every thing at the highest it would bear; it is easy to shew, that at the expiration of the three years, Henry would have remaining in his coffers thirty millions over and above what would be

be expended. The total amount of all the receipts from the several funds, formed and to be formed for these three years, being one hundred twenty one millions five hundred and forty thousand livres, as appears from the three estimates which I drew up and presented to his majesty.

The first of these estimates, which contained only a list of the sums actually deposited in the Bastile, amounted to twenty-two millions four hundred and sixty thousand livres, in several coffers, marked Phelipeaux, Puget, and Bouhier: the second was another list, of the sums actually due from the farmers, partisans, and receivers-general; which might be considered as in possession, and produced another total of eighteen millions six hundred and thirteen thousand livres; these two totals together made forty-one millions seventy-three thousand livres, which the king would immediately have at his disposal: to acquire the rest of these hundred and twenty-one millions, I had no recourse, in the third estimate, to any new taxations. The whole remainder would arise solely from the offers of augmentation upon the several royal revenues which the farmers and partisans had made for a lease of three years, and from what the officers of justice and the finances had voluntarily engaged to furnish, provided they might be permitted the free enjoyment of certain privileges: so that in these one hundred twenty-one millions, I had not comprehended the three years receipts of the other royal revenues. And in case it were afterwards necessary to have recourse to means somewhat more burthensome, I had given the king another estimate, whereby, instead of these one hundred twenty-one millions, it appeared that one hundred seventy-five millions might have been raised. I also demonstrated, that upon any pressing emergency, this kingdom could open itself resources of treasure that are almost innumerable.

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It was very much to be wished, that the sums of money and the numbers of men to be furnished by the other confederates, would be equally well secured by such estimates: but whatever deficiencies might have happened, having forty-one millions to distribute where-ever it might be found necessary, what obstacles could Henry have to fear from a power who was known to be destitute of money, and even of troops? no one being ignorant, that the best and most numerous forces which Spain had in its service were drawn from Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy; or else were Germans, Switzers, and Walloons.

Every thing therefore concurring to promote success, and good magazines being placed in proper parts of the passage, the king was on the point of marching, at the head of his army, directly to Mezieres; from whence, taking his rout by Clinchamp, Orchimont, Beauraign, Offais, Longpré, &c. after having caused five forts to be erected in these quarters, and therein placed his two thousand men destined for that purpose, with the necessary provisions and ammunition, he would, near Duren and Stavelo, have joined the two armies, which the princes of Germany and the United Provinces would have caused to march thither; and then beginning by occupying all those passages through which the enemy might find entrance into the territories of Juliers and Cleves, these principalities, which were a pretext for the armament, would consequently have immediately submitted to him, and would have been sequestrated, till it should appear how the Emperor and the king of Spain would act, in regard to the designs of the confederate princes.

This was the moment fixed on to publish and make known throughout Europe, the declarations, in form of manifestos, which were to open the eyes of all in regard to their true interests, and the real motives which had caused Henry and the confederate princes thus to take up arms. These manifestos

festos were composed with the greatest care; a spirit of justice, honesty, and good faith, of disinterestedness and good policy, were every where apparent in them: and, without wholly discovering the several changes intended to be made in Europe, it was intimated, that their common interest had thus compelled its princes to arm themselves; and not only to prevent the house of Austria from getting possession of Cleves, but also to divest her of the United Provinces, and of whatever else she unjustly possessed; that their intentions were to distribute these territories among such princes and states as were the weakest; that the design was such, as could not surely give occasion to a war in Europe; that, though armed, the kings of France and the North rather chose to be mediators in the causes of complaint which Europe, through them, made against the house of Austria, and only sought amicably to determine all differences subsisting among the several princes; and that whatever was done on this occasion, should be not only with the unanimous consent of all these powers, but even of all their people, who were hereby invited to give in their opinions to the confederate princes: such also would have been the substance of the circular letters which Henry and the associated princes would at the same time have sent to all places subject to them; that so the people being informed, and joining their suffrages, an universal cry from all parts of Christendom would have been raised against the house of Austria.

As it was determined to avoid with the utmost caution, whatever might give umbrage to any one, and Henry being desirous to give still more convincing proofs to his confederates, that to promote their true interests was his sole study and design; to the letters already mentioned he would have added others to be written to different courts, particularly to the electors of Cologne and Treves, the bishops of Munster, Liege, and Paderborn; and the duke and duchess of Lorrain; and this conduct would have

have been pursued, in regard even to our enemies, in the letters which were to be written to the archduke, and the infanta his wife, to the Emperor himself, and to all the Austrian princes, requesting them, from the strongest and most pressing motives, to embrace the only right and reasonable party; in all places, nothing would have been neglected, to instruct, convince, and gain confidence; the execution of all engagements, and the distribution or sequestration of whatever territories might require to be so disposed, would have been strictly, and even scrupulously, observed; force would never have been employed, till arguments, intreaties, embassies, and negotiations, should have failed: finally, even in the use of arms, it would have been not as enemies, but pacifiers; the queen would have advanced as far as Metz, accompanied by the whole court, and attended by such pomp and equipage as were suitable only to peace.

Henry had projected a new method of discipline in his camp, which, very probably, would have produced the good effects intended by it, especially if his example had been imitated by the other princes his allies; he intended to have created four marshals of France, or at least four camp marshals, whose sole care should have been to maintain universal order, discipline, and subordination: the first of these would have had the inspection of the cavalry, the second of the French infantry, the third of the foreign forces, and the fourth of whatever concerned the artillery, ammunition, and provisions; and the king would have required an exact and regular account from these two officers, of whatever was transacted by them in their respective divisions. He applied himself with equal ardour to make all military virtues to be revered and honoured in his army, by granting all employs and places of trust to merit only, by preferring good officers, by rewarding the soldiers, by punishing blasphemies and other impious language, by shewing a regard both
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for his own troops and those of his confederates, by stifling a spirit of discord, caused by a difference of religions; and, finally, by uniting emulation with that harmony of sentiments which contributes more than all the rest to obtain victory.

The consequence of this enterprise with regard to war, would have depended on the manner in which the Emperor and the king of Spain, would receive the propositions and reply to the manifestos of the confederate princes; it seems probable that the Emperor, submitting to force, would have consented to every thing: I am even persuaded he would have been the first to demand an amicable interview with the king of France, that he might at least extricate himself with honour out of the difficulties in which he would have been involved; and he would probably have been satisfied with assurances, that the imperial dignity, with all its rights and prerogatives, should be secured to him, for his life. The arch-dukes had made great advances; they engaged to permit the king, with all his troops, to enter their territories and towns, provided they committed no hostilities in them, and paid punctually, in all places, for whatever they required: if these appearances were not deceitful, Spain, being abandoned by all, must, though unwillingly, have submitted to the will of its conquerors.

But it may be supposed, that all the branches of the house of Austria would, on this occasion, have united, and, in defence of their common interests, would have used all the efforts of which they were capable. In this case, Henry and the confederate princes, by declaring war in form against their enemies, and depriving the Spaniards of all communications, especially with the Low Countries; and having, as we have said, united all their forces, given audience to the princes of Germany, promised assistance to the people of Hungary and Bohemia who should come to implore it of them; and finally, secured the territory of Cleves: these princes, I say, would

would then have caused their three armies to advance towards Bale and Strasbourg to support the Switzers, who after having, for form's sake, asked leave of the Emperor, would have declared for the union. The United Provinces, though at a considerable distance from these armies, would yet have been sufficiently defended by the flying camp, which Henry would have caused to advance towards them; by the arms of England and the North, to whose protection they would be entrusted: by the care which at first would have been taken to get possession of Charlemont, Maestrich, Namur, and other places near the Meuse; and finally, by the naval forces of these provinces, which, in conjunction with those of England, would have reigned absolute masters at sea.

These measures being taken, the war could have fallen only in Italy or Germany; and supposing it to have happened in the former, the three armies of Henry, the prince of Orange, and the princes of Germany, quitting Franche-Comté, after having fortified it in the same manner as the Low Countries, by a small body of troops, would have marched with their forces towards the Alps, where they would have been joined by those of Lefdiguieres, the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; who then would have declared themselves openly; the duke of Savoy, by requiring a portion for his duchess, equal to what had been given to the infant Isabella; and the other powers, by demanding the execution of the agreement in regard to Navarre, Naples, and Sicily; and thus, from all parts of Europe, war would be declared against Spain. If the enemy should appear inclined to draw the war into Germany, then the confederates, having left a considerable number of troops in Italy, would have penetrated even into the heart of Germany, where, from Hungary and Bohemia, they would have been strengthened by those powerful succours which were there preparing.

The other events, in consequence of these dispositions, can only be conjectured, because they would greatly depend on the degree of alacrity with which the enemy should oppose the rapidity of our conquests, and on the readiness with which the confederates, especially those at the extremity of Germany, should make good their engagements. Nevertheless, I am persuaded, that from the dispositions as here laid down, there are none but must regard the house of Austria as penetrated by the blow whose force was for ever to annihilate its power, and open a passage to the execution of the other projected designs, to which this attack could only be considered as the preliminary: I will add too (and here the voice of all Europe will vindicate me from the imputation of partiality) that if the force necessary to render such an enterprize successful does always depend on the person of the chief who conducts it, this could not have been better conferred, than upon Henry the Great. With a valour alone capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties; and a presence of mind, which neither neglected nor lost any opportunities of advantage; with a prudence which without precipitating any thing, or attempting too many things at a time, could regularly connect them together, and perfectly knew what might and what might not be the result of time; with a consummate experience; and finally, with all those other great qualifications, whether as a warrior or politician, which were so remarkable in this prince; what is there which might not have been obtained? This was the meaning of that modest device which this great king caused to be inscribed on some of the last medals that were struck under his reign, *Nil sine concilio*.

S U P P L E M E N T

TO THE

LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY, after his RETREAT.

THE first time we find the duke of Sully mentioned by the historians after his retreat, is upon his appearance at the assembly of protestants, held at Châtelleraut, in the year 1611. His mind was still embittered by the treatment he had met with at court; he was well informed that the duke of Bouillon, who, contrary to his real interest and character, was preparing to go thither to support the queen's rights against the protestants, had put himself at the head of his enemies, and was endeavouring to deprive him of the government of Poitou, and of his post of grand-master of the ordnance, which the queen regent had promised to bestow upon him, in reward for the services she expected from him upon this occasion; it is not therefore surprising that, in such a conjuncture, the duke of Sully should act there with vigour and spirit. Those who favour the duke of Bouillon have, through resentment that he failed in his attempt, accused the dukes of Sully and Rohan of seeking to rekindle the war between the protestants and the catholics; but they are the only persons who speak in this manner. All the other writers agree that the conduct of M. de Sully was wholly free from blame; and indeed his enemies acted with so much heat and malignity against him, that the author of the French Mercury *, whom I shall fol-

* Anno 1611, p. 75.

low in this period of the duke of Sully's History, condemns him for not taking the only measures that remained to secure his repose. Here follows a short account of what passed, with regard to the duke of Sully, at the assembly of Châtelleraut, or of Samur; for his enemies, being apprehensive that he would be too powerful if it was held at Châtelleraut, caused it to be transferred to Samur.

The duke of Bouillon making no secret of his intentions to reduce the calvinists his brethren, and the duke of Sully in particular, to the last extremity, the common interest re-united the latter with Du-Plessis-Mornay and the principal protestant ministers, who, till then, as has been seen through the course of these Memoirs, had acted with great reserve towards him, and great distrust of his sentiments. They began by refusing the dignity of president of their assembly to the duke of Bouillon, and conferred it on Du-Plessis; and made him sensible how much they were offended at the part he had acted, by continually opposing him; so that he could not obtain any of those demands which might probably have been granted to an agent of the catholic religion, which was a convincing proof that the queen regent committed a great error when she made choice of the duke of Bouillon to serve her on this occasion. However, a kind of reconciliation was made between him and the duke of Sully, through the interposition of Du-Plessis; and from that time the duke found no more obstacles to hinder him from interesting the protestant body in his particular cause, which became one of the chief subjects of their deliberations.

The assembly addressed him, entreated, and enjoined him (these are the terms made use of by the French Mercury) not to resign his employments, promised to support him, &c. To which the duke of Sully answered by a speech, in which he asked the advice of the assembly upon four things. 1st, If he ought to take no notice of the proceedings of

his enemies with respect to him? 2d, If, on the contrary, he ought himself to make a demand of being again restored to his places? 3d, If it was more eligible to accept of a recompence for them; and, lastly, If this recompence ought to be honour and security rather than profit? For it was to conceal the design they had of ruining him entirely, that the court made a proposal to him to receive a marshal's staff, or a considerable sum of money in exchange for his post of grand-master of the ordnance, and his government of Poitou. M. de Sully concluded this discourse, in which he could not forbear mingling some complaints of the rigour which the council of the queen regent used towards him, with excusing himself for not having sooner laid before them the hardships he suffered on account of the great difficulty he found to persuade himself that there were really such plots formed against him, as well as of his fears of displeasing some persons to whom he owed all imaginable respect.

This discourse was as agreeable to the protestants as it was displeasing to Bullion and the rest of the queen's agents. In their answer they gave indeed very high praises to the duke of Sully's administration; but they taxed him with being ungenerous, and of having entertained a design to force the queen to restore him to his place in the ministry. M. de Sully answered this accusation by another remonstrance, in which he referred his interests to the assembly. The duke of Bouillon perceiving what was likely to be the event, took off the masque a second time, and began to cabal with all the protestants, whom he thought there was a possibility of gaining. In effect, he drew over some; but all his endeavours to gain the duke of Rohan were fruitless: and having neither been able, with all his address, to hinder the greater number from adhering to the party of his adversary, or to suspend the conclusion, they passed on to their deliberations, the result of which was, that they would assist M. de Sully, if
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his administration was enquired into, *by unlawful ways.*

Bullion, and the rest of the queen's creatures, put every thing in motion to obtain a recantation or restriction. As for the duke of Bouillon, he broke out into rage and exclamation: he gave the most violent counsels to the queen, who contented herself, however, with sending letters in the king's name to the assembly, which Du-Plessis, for fear of the consequences they might produce, thought proper to suppress. They now had recourse to mediums and modifications. All the other articles were amicably settled, and that which regarded M. de Sully was suffered to rest, because it was apparent to the whole world that they could not, with any shadow of justice, accuse him of being an unfaithful minister, much less an enemy to the state; and because the duke of Bouillon, being disgusted with the queen for disappointing him in his expectations of reward, ceased on a sudden to act with the same heat and animosity. The duke of Sully, therefore, remained in the same situation as when he retired from court.

The following year the war between the two religions was upon the point of being resumed, by an incident for which our Memoirs seem to prepare us. Brassac, whom his majesty had appointed to be king's lieutenant of St. John D'Angely, after the death of Des-Ageaux, was driven out of that city by the duke of Rohan, whose whole conduct, from that time, sufficiently declared that his sentiments were very different from those of his father-in-law. Although the regent was then in a condition to give him law, and all the protestants were greatly in fear of her, yet this affair was terminated wholly to the duke's advantage, who obtained all that he demanded. M. de Sully signed the agreement, which was made in the synode of Privas, between the duke of Rohan on one side, and the queen's agents on the other. This was all the share he had in this great rupture.

The two following letters, which I have transcribed from the originals, in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully, prove that the queen-mother had recourse to Maximilian on many occasions, and that he laboured with great diligence to prevent or appease the troubles which afterwards arose between the princes and the grandees of the kingdom.

A Letter from the Queen-mother to the Duke
of SULLY.

“ COUSIN,

“ I have sent the sieur de Bethune your brother
“ to confer with you concerning the present occur-
“ rences, and have charged him to assure you of
“ my affection, and of my reliance on the conti-
“ nuance of yours, for the service of the king,
“ monsieur my son. You may give absolute credit
“ to what he shall say to you on both these subjects,
“ as you would do to the person of your good cousin

Paris, Feb. 12, 1614.

“ MARY.”

It is superscribed, “ To my Cousin, the Duke
“ of Sully, peer, and grand master of the ordnance
“ of France.”

Another Letter from the Queen to M. de SULLY.

“ COUSIN,

“ Having received your letter of the 1st instant
“ on the 9th, I delayed answering it till my arrival
“ in this province, to the end that, being better
“ informed of the particular things which hap-
“ pened, and the state affairs are in at present, I
“ might tell you with more certainty my opinion of
“ them all in general: but I have found here so
“ much confusion and tumult, so many complaints
“ and infringements of the agreement of St. Me-
“ noult, that I confess I know not where to begin,
“ or

“ or what to desire you to do for me upon this oc-
 “ casion. Declarations are every where made, and
 “ assurances given me of zeal and fidelity for the
 “ service of the king my son, and the public good,
 “ which are indeed very acceptable; but I find
 “ effects so contrary to all this, that I no sooner
 “ entertain any favourable hopes, than they vanish
 “ in an instant. I do not write this upon your own
 “ particular account; for I depend upon your
 “ affection to the good of your country and our
 “ own happiness, in proportion to the experience I
 “ have had of it, and the assurance you have given
 “ me; but I write to condole with you upon the
 “ changeableness and uncertainty of such proceed-
 “ ings. I have within these two days received your
 “ last letter here; the bearer of this will tell you
 “ what I think of it.

“ I do not doubt but that you have, with a free-
 “ dom and zeal becoming a good subject and an ho-
 “ nest man, made those remonstrances to my nephew
 “ the prince of Condé, which you have given me
 “ an account of in your letter, and I am rejoiced
 “ to hear that he has taken them well of you: but,
 “ if he approves of your advice, what hinders him
 “ from following it? By so doing he will get rid of
 “ those perplexities in which you tell me he is in-
 “ volved; he will receive of me every reasonable
 “ proof he can desire of my good-will, and all the
 “ respect and deference due to his quality. If to
 “ assure him of this, any thing depends upon me,
 “ I shall be glad to know it, and to have your
 “ opinion: but I have not yet received those letters,
 “ which he told you he wrote to me upon that sub-
 “ ject. I wish they may be such as may give me
 “ that satisfaction, both with respect to him and his
 “ friends, for the service of the king my son, as he
 “ has often made me hope for, and even request;
 “ and, this done, I shall make him such returns as
 “ he shall have just reason to be contented with: as
 “ likewise all those who shall follow his example.

M 4.

“ I have

“ I have not yet seen the duke of Vendôme ; so
 “ that I know not what I ought to hope from his
 “ obedience ; for I have advice that he continues to
 “ fortify Lamballe, and has engaged a great num-
 “ ber of soldiers, who have served, or rather dis-
 “ served him during these last commotions, and espe-
 “ cially since the contract of St. Menoult, to which
 “ the king my son and myself are endeavouring to
 “ apply the necessary remedies, by the advice of the
 “ states of the country, which we are to propose
 “ to-morrow. As I promise myself that you will
 “ always continue faithful to the interests of the king
 “ my son, and that you will readily embrace every
 “ opportunity of serving him, you may make what
 “ use you think proper of this for that purpose ;
 “ and I beseech God, cousin, &c. Written at
 “ Nantz, August 18, 1614.

“ Your good cousin,

“ MARY.”

In the year 1616 the revolt of the protestants
 broke out. On this occasion the duke of Sully
 gave a convincing proof that he preferred the wel-
 fare of the state to the interest of his party, and
 even to his own particular interest ; for, when it
 was proposed to him to re-unite the party of the
 prince of Condé with that of the protestant, a design
 which, according to all appearance, would have
 ruined the kingdom, the duke of Sully, whose suf-
 frage was of the utmost consequence, refused abso-
 lutely to give it, and remained constantly attached to
 the king. Let us see what marshal Bassompierre says
 on this subject in his Memoirs. M. de Sully,
 ever solicitous for the good of the state, maintained
 himself in the esteem and respect of both parties,
 and endeavoured to set them right, as long as they
 could subsist in the state they were, by sending in-
 formations sometimes to the queen-mother, and
 sometimes to the prince ; and, on August the 26th, the

the duke of Sully demanded an audience of the queen. He then told her, that matters were brought to such extremity, that it was not possible they could continue eight days longer in the same situation; that as the ballance was now held, the whole authority must necessarily fall into the hands of the prince; that it was still in her own choice whether to keep or suffer herself to be dispossessed of her's. He declared that she was not secure in Paris, and that she and her children would be safer in the field, with a thousand horse, than in the Louvre, while the minds of the nobles and people were thus enraged. He said, that his duty, and the obligations he had to the deceased king, required that he should make her these remonstrances; and that, if there was no other remedy for the present evils but the loss of his life, he would sacrifice it willingly for the preservation of the king, herself, and the state; then, taking leave of her, he implored her to consider well what he had said: and added, that, if she did not apply the only, fit, and reasonable remedy to these commotions, she would be answerable for all the consequences of them, since she had been warned beforehand of what was likely to happen."

The author of the History of the Mother and Son* renders, in spite of himself, this justice to the duke of Sully. "M. de Sully, says he, demanded "an audience of the queen, that he might confer "with her upon an affair, which he said was of no "less importance than the preservation of the king's "life and her's. The queen had taken physic that "day; but, upon a matter of such consequence, "she thought she could not dispense with herself "from seeing him. The king happened, by chance, "to be present; as were likewise the sieurs Man- "got and Barbin. The duke of Sully then made "a speech, in which he expatiated upon the bad

* Tom. II. p. 61, 62.

" designs

“ designs of the princes, and the inevitable dangers
 “ which he foresaw for the king. The sieurs Man-
 “ got and Barbin told him, that it was not enough
 “ to discover an evil; he ought likewise to propose
 “ some proper remedies to obviate it. To this he
 “ only added, that the attempt was hazardous, and
 “ that they must expect to see very fatal conse-
 “ quences; then, quitting the queen’s closet, he
 “ said, Sire, and you, madam, I entreat your ma-
 “ jesties to think well on what I have said: I have
 “ discharged my conscience; would to God you
 “ were in the midst of twelve hundred horse: I see
 “ no other remedy.” Saying this he went away.

It must be confessed, that to the hatred which
 this writer bore the duke of Sully, is owing the
 following recital*: “ The prince of Condé being
 “ arrested, the ministers told the queen, that, un-
 “ less she released him, all was lost. M. de Sully,
 “ whose vehemence of temper would not allow him
 “ time for reflection, nor to give his advice in the
 “ present exigence on what might be apprehended
 “ for the future, without blaming past proceedings,
 “ said, that whoever had counselled the queen to
 “ arrest the prince, had ruined the state. The
 “ queen replied, that she was astonished to hear him
 “ speak in that manner; and that he must certainly
 “ have lost his reason, since he did not remember
 “ what he himself had said to the king and her
 “ but three days before. These words threw him
 “ into such confusion that he withdrew immediately,
 “ to the great astonishment of all the lords who
 “ were present. His wife endeavoured afterwards
 “ to excuse him, by alleging that it was the terrors
 “ he laboured under at that time which had forced
 “ him to speak so, having been informed that the
 “ princes and nobles of the prince of Condé’s party
 “ had resolved to murder him, through a suspicion
 “ that he was the cause of the prince’s detention,
 “ by the discoveries he had made of their designs.”

* Tom. II. p. 94.

Without examining here whether the duke of Sully contradicted himself in the advice he gave the queen at these two different times, we shall grant that the resolution they had taken to arrest the prince of Condé, was both prudent and necessary; and the inference I shall draw from these circumstances is, that this minister never swerved from his attachment to the interest of the king and the public good, on an occasion so favourable to the protestant party, where he himself ran great risks.

He observed the same conduct during the rest of his life. He was invested with the king's authority in the assemblies of Rouen and Loudun: he supported, like a good citizen and a loyal subject, his majesty's party against the protestants, when the war was declared under the administration of cardinal Richelieu: he was present at the siege of Montauban and other encounters: he even performed all the functions of grand-master of the ordnance at the siege of St. Jean D'Angely, and the train of artillery there was furnished and conducted with the greatest care. He kept this office till his death, although the writer of the duke of Bouillon's life says that it was taken from him. Lewis XIII. gave him a marshal's staff, September 18, 1634. The preceding year Pope Urban VIII. wrote him a letter in Latin, to which M. de Sully sent an answer by his grand-son the prince of Henrichemont, and which produced a second brief from the Pope, in Latin likewise, dated July 16, 1633.

In the same year he lost the marquis de Rosny, his eldest son, whose conduct had been a continual source of affliction to him, not only because the marquis followed none of the wise counsels he gave him, and joined himself to the enemies of the state, but because the duke of Sully felt, in more ways than one, the extreme disorder of his son's affairs. And here it is necessary we should give some account of the duke of Sully's domestic concerns, which will serve to explain several parts of these Memoirs
where

where the marquis of Rosny is mentioned, and particularly what is said of him in the twenty-ninth book.

The duke of Sully, besides two daughters, the eldest of whom was married to the duke of Rohan, and the youngest to the marquis of Mirepoix, had three sons; Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Rosny, he had by his first wife Anne de Courtenay; and Cæsar and Francis de Bethune, by his second, Rachel de Cochefilet. The great estates he was possessed of being acquired since his second marriage, the children by that marriage seemed entitled to the largest share of them; nevertheless, the duke of Sully thinking himself obliged to secure to the marquis de Rosny such an estate as might enable him to support the grandeur of his house, of which he was the eldest; to the posts of grand-master of the ordnance, superintendant of the fortifications, and to the governments of Mante and Gergeau, the reversion of which he obtained for him, and which he estimated at sixty thousand livres a year, he added, among other gifts, a donation of lands producing a yearly revenue of fifty thousand livres, consisting of the duchy of Sully, the marquissate of Rosny, the principality of Henrichemont and Boisselle, with all their dependencies, the property of which, however, he reserved to himself during his life. The deed of entail, which is dated March 17, 1609, has in it this singular clause: " That on the sup-
 " position that none of those, whether male or
 " female, chose to fulfil the aforesaid terms and
 " conditions, the said lord, who makes this set-
 " tlement, gives, by the present writing, the above-
 " said lands to the king or his descendants, accord-
 " ing to their seniority, on condition that the said
 " lands shall never be disunited from the crown;
 " and that he who shall possess them, if he be not
 " the king or the king's eldest son, shall be obliged,
 " and his descendants after him, together with his
 " own

“ own name and arms, to bear the surname and
“ arms of Bethune.”

But afterwards being solicitous to prevent any occasion for disunion in his family, M. de Sully the following year made two other donations and conveyances of his other possessions in the same form, and by an act of the same kind, in favour of Cæsar and Francis de Bethune his youngest sons: namely, of the land and lordship of Villebon to Cæsar; and to Francis de Bethune, called count of Orval, of the lands of Montrond, Orval, Bruyeres, Epineuil, Beauchefal, La-Roche-Guillebaut, and Le-Châtelet, in Berry. The value of each of these donations is estimated at ten thousand livres a year. It is there stipulated that the fortifications, arms, ammunition, and furniture, as well those which were in all these castles when the donation was made, as those which should be found there at the death of the duke of Sully, should be comprehended in the donation; and if either of his two sons, to whom they were made over, should die without heirs, his portion was to go entire to the survivor. This happened four years after; for, Cæsar de Bethune dying unmarried in 1614, the count of Orval re-united in himself the two articles of conveyance. In 1620 his father married him to Jacqueline de Caumont, daughter of the grand-marshal de La-Force, and grand-daughter of the first marshal Biron; and he confirmed, by the marriage-contract, the act of entail, made in the year 1610.

Before and after the duke of Sully had made these dispositions of his estates, the marquis of Rosny continued to hold his possessions jointly with his father. This community of goods was wholly to the advantage of the son, his mother's estate alone being not sufficient to supply his expences: but it exposed the duke of Sully to the prosecution of his son's creditors. The duke paid his debts several times; but they became so considerable, by the prodigality and bad management of the marquis of Rosny, that he

he took a resolution, at length, to leave him to himself. Such was the beginning of his domestic troubles.

This was soon followed by others more considerable; for after the death of the marquis of Rosny, his creditors taking the advantage of the community of goods, made an attempt to seize upon some of the possessions of the duke of Sully. The prince of Henrichemont*, his grandson, joined with them to annul these conveyances, in which he was greatly assisted by the circumstances the duke of Sully was then in, who, to get himself clear of the prince of Condé, had been obliged to do and undo many establishments, and had gained, and sold, and gained again, at several times, a great part of the lands contained in those conveyances; such as, Villebon, Montrond, &c. This kept the duke of Sully in continual perplexity with disputes and law-suits, part of which, however, were amicably settled by the marriage of the prince of Henrichemont with the daughter of the chancellor Seguier†, in the year 1639; upon which the duke of Sully, who was then upon good terms with the prince of Condé, having Villebon restored, and all his other acquisitions secured to him, made over again, in the year 1640, a new conveyance, confirming the former, by which he gave other lands, in the place of those that might be alienated.

The discontent of the prince of Henrichemont broke out again upon this new conveyance, and set on foot a law-suit, of which Lewis XIII, and his first minister, took the cognizance to themselves, and which continued during the years 1640 and 1641; the petitions and principal pieces of this suit have been printed: the duke of Sully com-

* Maximilian-Francis de Bethune, the third of that name, duke of Sully, prince of Henrichemont and Bosbelle, marquis of Rosny, lieutenant-general for the

government of Dauphiny and the Paris-Vexin, governor of Manté and Meulan: he died in 1661.

† Charlotte Seguier, daughter of the chancellor Seguier.

plains there bitterly, that his grandson and the chancellor Seguier, who supported him, sought to take advantage of some failures in the formalities of the settlements, unavoidable perhaps in affairs so long and so complicated. But it would be improper here to enter into a discussion of this point of the law. Supposing that all possible right was not on the side of the duke of Sully, yet it must be confessed, that the voice of nature, and a principle of gratitude, ought to have carried it in favour of a man who had raised his family to such a degree of splendor: however that may be, the duke of Sully had the mortification to find himself, by a decree of council given in December, 1641, obliged to revoke his conveyance of four of those estates which had been given in the room of the former that had been alienated. He was then eighty-two years old, and it is probable that, jealous as he was of the paternal authority, and convinced in his own mind, that in all he had done he had exactly followed the laws of equity, this stroke affected him so sensibly, that it contributed to shorten his life: he died eight days afterwards at Villebon, December 22, 1641.

His bowels were put into a kind of leaden urn, and deposited in the vault of the collegiate church of Saint-Anne in Villebon, and upon the vault over it this inscription:

Here lie the bowels of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lord, Maximilian de Bethune, duke of Sully, peer and marshal of France.

His body was to be carried to Aumône, or Hotel Dieu of Nogent, but the mausoleum which was erecting for him there, not being finished, it was laid in a leaden coffin, and placed in the duke of Sully's chamber in the castle of Villebon, where he died. The ceilings, the floors, and walls of this apartment, were hung with black cloth: it was left there exposed to view, under a canopy of black velvet.

velvet, with bands of silver stuff, and the arms of Bethune at the four corners.

In the mean time, the duchess of Sully caused a closet to be built in the lower gallery of the castle of Villebon, in order to place a statue in it, which she designed to erect to the memory of her husband; and for this purpose she bought a block of white marble, the finest that could be procured, and sent for one of the most excellent sculptors of that time from Italy. In the front of this closet is written, in large characters, the ten commandments, as they stand in the book of Exodus; on one of the sides, the epitaph of the deceased; upon the other, his coat of arms, with all the ensigns of his office; the top, and all the rest of the closet, is filled with pictures, emblems, and mottos, which it is not necessary to describe here: it is enlightened by a long window, which takes up the farther end. The statue is placed in the midst of the closet, standing upon a pedestal of white marble likewise; it is a little larger than the life, and represents the duke of Sully, armed from his neck to his feet, with a crown of lawrel upon his head, and the ducal mantle on his shoulders; in his right hand, stretched out, he holds the marshal's staff; and his left is leaning upon his coat of arms: the marshal's staff, as well as his casque, adorned with a plume of feathers, which lies at the left side of the statue, are cut out of the same block. This whole piece is so beautiful and so highly finished, that it may vie with the ancient monuments of Greece and Rome. Over the door of the closet is written, in cartouche:

Rachel de Cochefilet, Duchess Dowager of Sully, after the death of Maximilian de-Bethune, Duke of Sully, her husband, with whom she lived forty-nine years in marriage, to honour his memory, and in testimony of her grief for his loss, has erected this statue, in the year 1642.

The body of this lady being, after her death, deposited by that of her husband, the mausoleum, which

which we are going to describe, was common to them both: it is a round chapel, built on the side of that of Saint James de l'Aumône, or the Hospital of Nogent, called from their name Nogent le Bethune; it has no communication with the church, because the duke and duchess of Sully were so unhappy as to die in the principles of the pretended reformed religion. Under this chapel is a vault, where both their bodies are interred. The walls on the inside of this chapel are adorned with the coats of arms and alliances of the house of Bethune; the dome is only coloured with a plain blue, sprinkled with flowers de luce: the effigies of the duke and duchess are of white marble, as large as the life; they are kneeling upon a pedestal, three feet in height, with their faces turned towards the east: by an inscription upon the pedestal we are told, that this work, which is very well executed, was the performance of B. Boudin, in the year 1642. Behind the statue of the duke of Sully, is this inscription:

Here lies the body of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious, Lord, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Rosny, who shared in all the fortunes of king Henry the Great, among which was that memorable battle which gave the crown to the Victor; where, by his valour, he gained the white standard, and took several prisoners of distinction. He was by that Great Monarch, in reward of his many virtues and distinguished merit, honoured with the dignities of Duke, Peer, and Marshal of France, with the governments of the Upper and Lower Poitou, with the office of Grand Master of the Ordnance, in which, bearing the thunder of his Jupiter, he took the castle of Montmelian, till then believed impregnable, and many other fortresses of Savoy; he was likewise made Superintendant of the Finances, which office he discharged singly with a wise and prudent æconomy, and continued his faith-

ful services till that unfortunate day when the Cæsar of the French nation lost his life by the hand of a parricide. After the lamented death of that Great King, he retired from public affairs, and passed the remainder of his life in ease and tranquillity. He died at the castle of Villebon, December 22, 1641, aged eighty-two years.—Here also lies the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lady, Madame Rachel de Cocbeilet, his wife, who died at Paris in the ninety-seventh year of her age, in the year 1659.

The way to this chapel is through a long court, planted with a walk of elms; at the entrance of which is a portal, of very beautiful architecture, with the arms of the house of Bethune in raised work, and all the additions belonging to the arms of the duke of Sully. The house of Bethune bears, *d'argent, facé de gueules*, supported by two savages armed with clubs.

Before Villebon was restored to the duke of Sully he divided his residence between Sully, La Chapelle-d'Angillon, which is a very fine house and barony dependant on the duchy of Sully, and Rosny, which of all his houses, he most embellished, as he reckoned upon this being always kept in his family: he was building the wings when he had the misfortune to lose the king his benefactor; and, as a witness of his grief for that loss, he left those wings imperfect, and in the same condition they were in at the time of that sad event. But when he became again possessed of Villebon, the beauty of that castle, its situation in a most agreeable country, its contiguity to Paris, for Villebon is not more than twenty leagues distant from that city, and the advantage of being in the center of several great estates which he had purchased with the money arising from the sale of those he had been obliged to part with to the prince of Condé: all these considerations determined him to fix his stay there during six whole months of the year,

year, which were the autumn and the winter: he used, in the spring, to make some short journeys to Sully; but that place was become very disagreeable to him, on account of the conduct of his eldest son; the rest of the year he passed at La-Chapelle-d'Angillon, at Rosny, and his other estates.

The life he led in his retreat was accompanied with decency, grandeur, and even majesty; such as might be expected from a character so grave and so full of dignity as his. Besides a great many gentlemen and pages, by whom he was attended, and ladies and maids of honour about the person of the duchess of Sully, he had one company of guards, with their officers, and another of Swiss; and so great a number of domestics, that there are but few examples of subjects who have kept so grand and so numerous an household. Monsieur, the present duke of Sully, has conversed with the son of an antient surgeon belonging to his ancestor the duke of Sully, the last of this branch, who died at the age of eighty-eight years, and who was about fourteen when the duke of Sully, of whom we are speaking, died: this man told him, that he had accompanied his father in his visits to the sick in the castle of Villebon; and had reckoned fourscore of them, without perceiving that the service of the house suffered the least disorder or delay upon that account.

M. de Sully always continued his custom of rising very early in the morning; after some time spent in prayers and reading, he set himself to work with his four secretaries: this work consisted in putting his papers in order, in digesting his Memoirs, in answering the several letters he received, in regulating his domestic affairs, and, lastly, in taking cognizance of those which related either to his governments or his posts; for he continued, till his death, governor of the Upper and Lower Poitou and of Rochelle, grand master of the ordnance, grand surveyor of France, and superintendent of the fortifications.

tifications. He usually passed the whole morning in these occupations; except that he sometimes went out to take the air half an hour or an hour before dinner; they then rung a great bell which was upon the bridge, to give notice that he was going out; the greatest part of his household ranged themselves on each side, from the bottom of the stair-case to the door of his apartment; his equerries, gentlemen, and officers, walked before him, preceded by two Swifs with their halberts; the duke came next, with some of his friends and relations on each side of him, with whom he conversed; then followed the officers of his French and Swifs guards; and the procession was always closed by four Swifs.

At his return, he went into the hall, where he dined: this was a very large room, in which he had caused the most memorable actions of his own life, together with those of Henry the great, to be painted; at the upper end of the table two armed chairs were placed for the duke and duchess; all his children, married as well as unmarried, of whatever rank or dignity, had only stools; for at that time, the subordination between parents and their children was so great, that they were not permitted to sit in their presence, without being commanded to do so. His table was served with taste and magnificence; he admitted to it none but the nobility in his neighbourhood, some of the principal gentlemen, and the ladies and maids of honour who belonged to the duchess of Sully: except his guests, all the company retired as soon as the dessert was brought in. After dinner they withdrew into a cabinet adjoining to the hall where they dined: this was called the cabinet of illustrious men, because it was adorned with the portraits of popes, kings, princes, and other great and celebrated persons, from whom he had received them; many of these portraits are still to be seen at Villebon.

In another adjoining hall, magnificently furnished, the captain of his guards had a second table, served

with almost as much grandeur as the first; here sat the younger sort, and indeed those only whom, on account of the disproportion of age, he chose not to receive at his own table. The present duke of Sully has been told by several persons of quality, that when they have accompanied their fathers in the visits they made to his ancestor, he kept only them at his own table, saying to the young men, *You are not old enough to eat with us, we should grow weary of one another.*

When he had staid some time with the company, he retired to his own apartment, where for two or three hours he employed himself in the same manner as in the morning. If the season and the weather permitted it, he took a walk in the afternoon, attended with the same train as before: he often went into his gardens, and passing through a little covered alley, which separated the flower from the kitchen garden, ascended by a stone stair-case (which the present duke of Sully has caused to be destroyed) into a large walk of linden trees, upon a terras on the other side of the garden. It was then the taste to have a great number of narrow walks, very closely shaded with four or five rows of trees or palisadoes: here he used to sit upon a settee painted green, and large enough to hold two persons, and leaning his elbows upon a large grated window, which has been lately taken away likewise, amused himself with beholding, on the one side, an agreeable landscape; and on the other, a second alley, on a terrace, extremely beautiful, which surrounded a large piece of water, called the New Pond, and terminated by a wood of lofty trees, called the Great Park. In this park also he used sometimes to walk, and often was drove about it in his chariot or coach, with the duchess his wife. The interval between these airings and supper, he spent in the same occupations as the morning: at supper, the same form was observed as at dinner: after which, every one retired to their respective apartments.

The duke of Sully, on account of his religion, could not be admitted into any order: he therefore made one for himself. In the inventory of his effects there were several diamond rings for that use, He wore about his neck, and more especially after the death of Henry IV. a chain of gold or diamonds, to which hung a large gold medal which had in relievo the figure of that great prince. He used often to take this medal out of his bosom, stop, and contemplate it, and then kiss it with the utmost reverence and affection: he never would quit it, not even when he went to court, any more than his antient dress, which he always preserved; for he would not subject himself to the change of fashions. It is well known what happened to him one day when he went to court in consequence of a message from Lewis XIII. "Monsieur de Sully, said this young prince to him, I sent for you as being one of the chief ministers of the king my father, and a man in whom he placed great confidence, to ask your advice, and to confer with you upon some affairs of importance." The duke of Sully seeing none but young courtiers about the king, who, to make their court to the constable de Luynes, ridiculed his dress and the gravity of his manners, made this answer: "Sire, I am too old to change my habits, but for some good cause. When the late king your father, of glorious memory, did me the honour to send for me to confer with me upon matters of importance, the first thing he did was to send away the buffoons." The young king seemed not to disapprove of this freedom: he ordered every one to withdraw, and remained alone with M. de Sully,

The most exact order, subordination, and peace, reigned throughout his numerous household: no person knew better how to make himself be served, respected, and obeyed, than the duke of Sully. The catholics in his service saw no difference between his treatment of them and his protestant domestics,

metics, except the great care he took to oblige the former to an exact performance of all the duties of good roman catholics. This was one effect of that esteem, and even inclination, which, in the course of these Memoirs, he has always shown for the true religion, and which would probably have led him to embrace it, but for the considerations he there mentions. The misfortune was, that, being persuaded he could work out his salvation in either of the two religions, he was too much governed by his own delicacy, which would not suffer him to have the appearance of being swayed either by ambition or interest, in taking a resolution which would have gratified both in so high a degree. All his children, except the duchess of Rohan, died in the bosom of the roman church.

The duchess his wife, although brought up in the principles of the roman catholic religion, quitted it after the death of M. de Châteaupers her first husband, to marry the duke of Sully. The lords of Villebon had, in the church of that parish, which is a collegiate, a chapel on the side next the castle, which they caused to be demolished, and built in its place two galleries, of which the lower one was so inclosed, that those who were within could not be seen by the congregation; and the one above, to which the ascent is, by a little stair-case of wood, is also obscured by a grate. It is publicly known, that the two duchesses, of Sully and Rohan, came often into the lower gallery to hear the psalms during the canonical hours. They washed with their own hands all the linen that was used in the service of the altar. The present duke of Sully heard this circumstance from Catherine de La-Porte, one of his ancestors. This lady, who lived a long time with the duchess of Rohan, her aunt, heard from her an anecdote which no one at that time was ignorant of, namely, that the duke of Sully always gave a most gracious reception to the capuchins that visited him, and had so great an esteem

for them, that during his last sickness, and a few days before he died, he desired to confer with some of these religious; but that, when they presented themselves for that purpose upon the bridge of the castle, the duchess of Sully gave orders that they should not be admitted, and threatened to have them thrown into the moat.

This lady employed her time in regulating the interior of her household; in having leases drawn out, and the accounts of the farmers and receivers given in; and always visited the several estates of her husband, when necessary. In her leisure hours she amused herself with working tapestry and embroidery with her ladies and maids of honour. The beauty and elegance of her work is still admired in some pieces of tapestry that remain in the possession of the duke of Sully, out of a great number which have been either lost or carried into other families.

The works of the duke of Sully are more durable. Besides all the other monuments of his liberality, of which we have had occasion to speak, he has immortalised his memory by a great number of fine buildings in several parts of the kingdom, particularly in his government of Poitou. He would, if he had continued in the administration till his death, have procured all the roads in that province to have been made easy and commodious for travelling. It was he who caused that magnificent bridge and causeway to be built at Châtelleraut, which is still to be seen there.

There was scarce one of his estates, those especially which had castles on them, where he did not leave marks of his magnificence, to which he was chiefly incited by a principle of charity, and a regard to the public good. He built most part of the Hôtel Dieu of Nogent. This city and lordship, which was distinguished by the surname of Nogent Le-Rotrou, was, by the prince of Condé's erecting it into a duchy, called D'Enguien; but, when it
came

came into the possession of the duke of Sully, it lost both these names, and was called the earldom of Nogent-le-Bethune. He at first designed to carry on very considerable buildings in the castle of this city, but he met with so many obstacles from the religious of St. Denis, that he was determined to turn all his views upon Villebon. Messieurs D'Estouteville, to whom that house had formerly belonged, had left it built only up to the first story: he raised it and completed it after the model of the Bastile, of which he was governor, but with more beauty. The front presents three sets of chambers, covered with slates between the towers. The towers have flat roofs, covered with lead, with pinnacles, and the battlements alternately round and pointed; the spouts are of the same metal with cast cannon, and the inner spouts which receive those of the corners of the house, are likewise of cast metal, eight feet high, terminating in dolphins heads. The grand stair-case is extremely large and luminous. At the first story is a large room, with the beams and joints gilt; as likewise the chimney, which is of beautiful workmanship. The apartments are very numerous, and have their chimneys gilt, and the greatest part of their pannels. The park is enclosed with stone walls, and contains a great number of pools and reservoirs. The gardens, which join the house on three sides, the courts, and court-yards, are all the work of the duke of Sully.

To give employment to the poor, who offered themselves during a famine, and whom he thought it no real charity to support in idleness, he made a pond about seven hundred and twenty yards long, and a hundred and twenty broad. This he called Chapel Pond. The earth which was dug out, he threw up into four terraces parallel to the canal, which reach to the new pond, another piece of water above the Chapel Pond. Between these terraces and the canal, were two levels of turf, which the present duke of Sully has cut into squares, into grass plats,

plats, and bowling-greens. All those who offered were set to work indifferently, even to little children, some of whom did not carry, at a time, more than half a pound of earth: and for this purpose an infinite number of hand-carriages of all sizes had been provided. To each of these poor people was given in the morning a piece of bread; at dinner-time a dish of soup; and at supper time another piece of bread; together with wages in money in proportion to their age and labour. This work, which the duke of Sully never would have undertaken merely for the decoration of his house, cost him fourscore thousand livres.

Every body knows that he built the castle of Rosny completely, surrounded it with dry ditches extremely wide, where, when batteries were placed, the shot crossed each other in a surprising manner; a thing very rare at that time. He raised that fine terrace which runs across the sea to a prodigious extent, and those great gardens filled with groves, and grottoes with water-works.

He embellished Sully with gardens, of which the plants are the finest in the world; and with a canal, very long and broad, which is supplied with fresh water by the little river of Sangle, which he turned that way, and which afterwards is lost in the Loire. He erected a machine to convey the water to all the basins and fountains, of which the gardens were full. The machine is yet in being; but the water-works have been suffered to go to ruin. With regard to the castle, he had it covered with slates: he wainscotted, painted, and gilt, almost all the apartments, and worked in the walls the galleries which pass from the little lodges, at the gate, to the main castle. The court-yard, and a second court-yard, which was formerly called the Little Park, are likewise his work. There are, in this second court, several eminencies, or enormous heaps of earth, which appear plainly to be the work of men. This expence, which produced no good, and of which

the effect is even disagreeable, might surprise those who do not know that the duke of Sully had no other way of supporting a multitude of poor people, who demanded work in a time of scarcity. St. Ithier was anciently a little church, almost close to the castle: he removed it to the middle of a city, where he built, at his own cost, a very fine church covered with slate. I shall not mention several other works for which this city is obliged to him: among others, an hospital, which he founded there.

The principal apartment of this castle, is that which he fitted up in memory of Henry the Great, and which is called, for that reason, The king's apartment. He determined to leave another monument of his gratitude to this great prince, in the great hall of Sully. This hall, which, next to that of Montargis, is the largest in France, has a prospect of the Loire. Henry IV. is there painted, in a picture of the first size, upon a very fine sorrel horse. This is the most perfect, and the most like, of all the pictures of that prince. It is hung over the chimney, which is uncommonly large, adorned with carved work, and covered, both on the front and sides, with squares of painting, containing each an emblem or a device relating either to the king or the duke of Sully. One of these pieces has something singular: it is in the front, where the sun is represented casting a weak and pale light, with the moon below it, shining with extraordinary brightness; and lower yet, the earth, which seems obscured by the great brightness of the moon. This is the only emblem that has no motto; and may be therefore supposed to contain something mysterious.

The duke of Sully likewise repaired and enlarged the castle of La-Chapelle D'Angillon, built by mademoiselle D'Albert: he embellished it with gardens and terraces, and a park about two hundred and thirty acres, surrounded with stone walls, which, tho' strongly built, are now almost ruined by the negligence

negligence of his successors. Facing the meadow is a great terrace, remarkable for its height and length, all faced with hewn stone, with pilasters of brick and stone from space to space, which contributed at once to the strength and beauty of the work. At the foot of this terrace was a mean church, which the duke of Sully pulled down and rebuilt, with great expence and magnificence, at the foot of the citadel of La-Chapelle, of which he is considered not only as the lord, but as the founder.

The castle of Montigny is indebted to him, among other embellishments, for a fine avenue of trees; and, behind the house, a wall or kind of court, very agreeable, with four rows of elms.

To conclude, it was he that built, and cut in the rock, the famous castle of Montrond, which was long considered as impregnable. The way to it was by a winding path, very broad, cut likewise in the rock; as were also the out-works of the palace, within which there was a well never dry, and sheltered against all violence from without. The prince of Condé, as has been already shown, obliged the duke of Sully to give him up Montrond, which, in the times of confusion, was his principal fortress against the king, whose army was stopped by it eighteen months, and at last took it only by stratagem; after which the fortifications were blown up, and the place destroyed.

END of the MEMOIRS of SULLY.

THE
T R Y A L
OF
FRANCIS RAVAILLAC,
FOR THE
Murder of King HENRY IV. 1610.

INTERROGATORIES *exhibited to the Prisoner accused of the murder of the late king, on the 17th of May, 1610. at the suit of the attorney-general, by* ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *first president;* NICHOLAS POTIER, *president;* JOHN COURTIN *and* PROSPER BAVIN, *counsellors of our lord the king in his court of parliament, commissioners appointed by the said court for that purpose.*

THE prisoner is sworn; and asked his name, age, rank, and place of abode?

He said, that his name was Francis Ravillac, born and dwelling at Angoulême, between thirty-one, and thirty-two years of age.

He was asked if he was married?

He answered, No.

Whether he ever had been married?

He answered, No.

How he had spent his youth? and to what he had applied himself?

He said, that he had been employed in soliciting law-suits in this court.

Whether he had been bred up to the practice of the law.

He said, that he had solicited law-suits for fourteen years; that he lodged at the Rats, opposite to the
the

the Green pillar, in Harp-street, at a cobbler's; and near the three pair of beads, in Calendar-street.

How long he had been in this city the last journey?

He said, about three weeks.

Whether he has had any intention to go back again?

He said, Yes.

How far he had gone back?

He said, he had gone beyond the town of d'Estampes, at the sign of the *Ecce homo*.

He was asked, what made him return?

He said, a desire to kill the king.

He was asked, what was his motive?

He answered, that amongst other reasons there was this, that the king had not, as he was able to do, brought back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apostolic, and roman church.

He was asked, what other reasons he had?

He answered, that he was come to this city to speak to the king, and admonish him to bring back those of the pretended reformed religion to the catholic church; and for that purpose he had been several times at the Louvre to meet with his majesty; that he had been at madam d'Angoulême's, to get somebody to introduce him; and likewise at the house of the cardinal Du-Perron, to whom he never spoke, but only to his chaplains, whose names he could not tell, but should know them if he saw them; that he spoke of it to father Daubigny, a jesuit, in his last journey, which was before Christmas; he spoke of it to the parson of Saint-Severin, and to the father Saint-Mary-Magdalen, provincial of the Feuillants.

It was asked him, where he spoke to father Daubigny?

He said, he spoke to him in the church in Saint-Antony's-street, at the conclusion of mass.

He was asked, at what time he talked to him?

He

He said, that he set out from his own country thirteen days before Christmas; that he was fourteen days in coming to this city; that three or four days after his arrival, he went to the house of the Jesuits near Saint-Antony's gate, where he said father Daubigny said mass; after which, he desired one of the lay-brothers to procure him the means of speaking to the said Daubigny; which he did; and he told him several visions which had preceded the meditations that he had made by the permission of his provincial Francis Mary Magdalen of the Feuillants.

He was asked, why he used the expression, *My provincial*?

He said, because the said Mary Magdalen had received him as lay-brother at the Feuillants.

It was asked, how long he had wore the habit of a Feuillant? and why he had quitted it?

He said, that he had worn it about six weeks; and they had taken it from him, because he had visions in his meditations.

On being asked again about it, he said he had desired it again, but it was refused him on account of the said meditations.

Upon this he began to weep, and said, God had given him that habit, and his grief was, that they would not restore it to him.

He was asked, if he knew the superior, and his name?

He said, that he did not know him nor his name; but that he had asked for the habit again, only because it being our Lord's pleasure that he should continue in the world, from which it was his wish to retire, he resolved to serve as a lay-brother.

This he uttered with tears.

He said, that he had a great deal of uneasiness, in not having staid with the Feuillants in the favour of God.

He was asked, what visions he had spoke of to father Daubigny?

He

He said, that he had told him, that while he was a prisoner for debt at Angoulême he had visions, representing fire, sulphur, and incense; and being released from prison, the Saturday after Christmas, having at night made his meditation, as was his custom, in bed, with his hands clasped, and his feet crossed, he felt his face and his mouth covered with something which he could not discern, because it was midnight; and being in that state, he felt in himself a desire to sing the Psalms of David; he began the psalm, *Dixit Dominus*, and sung it through; and afterwards, *Miserere*, and *De profundis*, at full length; and that it seemed to him, that he had a trumpet in his mouth, which made a sound as loud as that which is made in war.

The next day in the morning, as soon as he got out of bed, having made his meditation on his knees, and recollected in God, as his manner was, he sat down in a low chair before the hearth, and having combed his head, it being not yet light, he perceived one of the sticks yet on fire; and having finished dressing himself, he found part of a bundle of twigs, which he put to the stick that had kept fire, and kneeling down upon the ground, set himself to blow it, when immediately, on both sides of his face, both to the right and to the left, he saw, by the glimmering of the fire which was produced by his breath, hosts like those which are used at the communion of catholics in the church of God; and below his face, at the right side of his mouth, he saw a roll of the same size with that which the priest elevates at the celebration of divine service. Of this revelation he gave an account to father Daubigny, who, fearing that his head was disordered, told him that he was not to think of all this, but to tell his beads, and pray to God: but that he was determined in his own mind to address himself to some great man to speak to the king.

It was enquired, if he had asked Daubigny whether, if he should have visions that incited him to kill the king, he ought to confess them?

He answered, that he had said nothing to him but what he had already told, except that his purpose was to speak to the king to drive out all the followers of the pretended reformed religion, and convert them to the Roman catholic church.

It was asked, what Daubigny said to this?

He said, that he should put all these things out of his head, say his prayers, and tell his beads.

It was asked, whether he had no other conversation with him, and whether he never saw him but that time?

He answered, No.

Why did he chuse to address himself to Daubigny rather than to any other?

He answered, that it was because, when he was turned out of the Feuillants, he had a mind to become a jesuit, or to entreat him to speak to his provincial to replace him among the Feuillants; but that, not having found him the first time, one of the lay brethren told him, that they never receive into their house those who had been in another order.

He said farther, that, not having been able to speak to the king, he went back to the jesuits to speak a second time to the said Daubigny, and spoke to him as he has already said, and shewed him a little knife on which there was a heart and a cross, telling him, that the heart of the king should be disposed to make war amongst the huguenots.

He was asked, what hindered him from speaking to the king?

He said, that it was the grand provost, who had given him the torture with the gun while he was kept prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz.

He was asked, to whom he had applied himself that he might speak with the king?

He said, to the archers, and they carried him to speak to the provost, who told him that the king was sick.

He was asked, when he was at the Louvre ?

He said, that it was after Christmas; and some two or three days afterwards he met his majesty near St. Innocent's in his coach, and, desiring to speak to him, he cried out in these words: *Sire, I speak to you in the name of our Lord Jesus, and of the Holy Virgin*; but the king put him back with a little stick, and would not hear him. He then considered of retiring into his own country, and went away. And, being at Angoulême, he went to look for friar Gilles there, who had been formerly visitor of the Franciscan friars in Paris, to whom he confessed his visions and meditations, telling him, that he saw it to be the will of our Lord to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic church: that the visitor told him he need not doubt of it. A few days afterwards, and the first Sunday in Lent, he went to mass at the monastery of the Franciscan friars in Angoulême, where he reconciled himself with God, made his confession to a friar of the order, whose name he does not know, and in his confession told the voluntary murder.

He was desired to explain what he meant by the word *voluntary*?

He said, his meaning was, that he returned into this city with an intention to murder the king, which, nevertheless, he did not tell his confessor, who did not desire the meaning of those words.

Upon being further questioned, he said, that he had then lost that intention, but that, when he returned to this city, he resumed his intention.

He was asked, when he came to this city?

He said, that he travelled on foot, and arrived eight days after his setting out.

He was asked, how he had employed himself during his stay in Paris?

He

He said, that he lodged at the Three Half Moons, in the suburb St. James; and afterwards, that he might be near the Louvre, he went to lodge at the Three Pigeons, in the suburb St. Honore; from thence he went to take a lodging at an inn, near the *quinze vingts*, but, there being too many guests there, he was refused; upon which he took up a knife that lay upon a table, not upon account of his being refused a lodging, but because it seemed to him a very fit one for the execution of his design, and he kept it for some days, or three weeks, in a bag in his pocket.

He farther said, that, having desisted from his intention, he set out upon his journey home, and went as far as Estampes; that, as he was walking, he broke the point of the knife against a cart near the garden of Chantaloup, and, coming opposite to the *Ecce Homo*, of the suburb of Estampes, he again took it into his head to kill the king, and, no longer resisting the temptation as he had done formerly, he returned to Paris with that resolution, because the king did not convert the followers of the pretended reformation, and because he had heard it reported, that the king intended to make war upon the Pope, and transfer the seat of the holy see to Paris.

He was then asked, where he lodged? and who procured him lodgings in this city?

He said, that he sought for an opportunity to kill the king; and that, for this purpose, he sharpened, with a stone, the point of the knife which had been broke, and waited till the queen was crowned, and come back to the city, supposing that there would not be so much confusion in France, if he killed the king after her coronation, as if he had done it before.

He was told, that, since he deferred killing the king through a hope that there would be fewer commotions after the coronation, the said coronation

could not prevent the troubles which the king's death must necessarily bring along with it.

He said, that he submitted that to the will of God.

He was asked, where he went to meet the king?

He said, that he went to the Louvre, where he had been several times since he had resolved upon killing him; that he went there last Wednesday, and intended to kill him between the two gates, as he was going into his coach; that he followed him as far as St. Innocent's, near the place where he happened to meet him before, when he would not speak to him; and observing that the coach was stopt by two carts, and that his majesty turned his face and leaned towards that side where monsieur d'Epemon sat, he struck him twice in the side with his knife, passing his arm above the coach-wheel.

He was asked, what was his own opinion of the action he had committed?

He said, that he thought he had committed a great fault, for which he asked pardon of God, of the queen, the dauphine, the whole court, and of every one who was injured by it.

We shewed him the knife, which lay before us: it was double edged at the point, with the handle made of a stag's horn. He acknowledged it to be the same with which he had stabbed the king, and that it was immediately taken from him by a gentleman on horseback.

He was told, that he could have no reason for committing so wicked and traitorous an act, and that he had certainly been incited to it by some other person?

He said, that no person whatever had incited him to do it, but the common discourse among the soldiers, who said, that if the king, who would not tell his design to any one, intended to make war upon the Holy Father, that they would not assist him, although they were to die for it: that for this
cause

cause he yielded to the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, because he made war against God, in as much as the Pope is God, and God the Pope.

He was asked, what time it was that he heard this discourse amongst the soldiers?

He said, that it was after he went to lodge at the Three Half Moons.

It was objected to him, that he was guilty of a falshood in declaring that to be the cause of his committing the parricide, because he had said before, that, having laid aside his design of killing the king, he set out on his journey to his own country; and that, when he came to Estampes, he resumed that design, upon the discourse of the soldiers.

He answered, that he had spoke to them before, notwithstanding which he had altered his intention; but, when he came to Estampes, he resumed it, upon remembring what the soldiers had said to him.

He desired us to shew him a paper which he had about him at the time he was seized, whereon was painted the arms of France, with a lion on each side; one holding a key, the other a sword. We shewed this paper to him, and he acknowledged it to be the same which he had brought with him from Augoulême, with an intention to kill the king.

He was asked, whether, when he was at the house of a man whose name was Beliard, he had heard the said Beliard say, that the Pope's nuncio had told the king, in the name of his holiness, that, if he made war, he would excommunicate him?

He said, Yes; and also that his majesty had answered, that it was his predecessors who had placed the Popes upon the throne; and that, if the Holy Father should excommunicate him, he would dispossess him of it; whereupon he resolved to kill the king, and with that intention he wrote these lines over the two lions:

*Ne souffre pas qu'on fasse en ta presence
Au nom de Dieu aucune irreverence.*

Do not suffer the name of God to be prophaned in thy presence.

He was asked, whether the knife, when he took it off the table, had the same handle that it has now?

He said, No: that the handle was of whalebone, which, being broke, he gave the knife to his landlord's brother, whose name was John Barbier, a turner by trade, living in the suburb of St James, and desired him to put a handle of horn upon it; but he did not tell him why he preferred that to any other.

He was asked, if this Beliard was of the pretended reformed religion?

He said, No; that he was a catholic: nevertheless he held that discourse with him which put it into his head to kill the king.

He was told, that he ought not to have taken so wicked and abominable a resolution upon the discourse of one man only.

He said, he had taken a resolution to kill the king, not only upon what he had heard this man say, but also upon the discourse of the soldiers at Paris, and that of the sieur de St, Gorges, among others, who said, that, if the king would make war upon the Holy Father, he would obey him, being thereto obliged; and that, if the king did wrong, he only was to answer for it.

We shewed him a heart of Cost-mary root, which he acknowledged to have been taken from him; and he said, it had been given him by monsieur Guillebaut, canon of Angoulême, to cure him of a fever, saying, that there was within it a little bit of wood of the real Holy Cross, consecrated by the Capuchin friars, which had that virtue; and for

that purpose he had sent Mary Moseau, his landlady, to the capuchins for it, and ever since he had wore it about his neck.

We ordered it to be opened in his presence; but there was no wood to be found in the inside.

Upon which he said, that it was not him who was deceived, but the person who gave it him.

We shewed him a pair of beads, which, he said, he had bought in St. James's-street seven or eight days ago; that he has said his prayers with them, and wore them ever since constantly.

He was asked, what persons he kept company with after he had resumed his intention to kill the king?

He said, he kept company with none but the friars of his own country, who are at the convent of the Dominican friars, whither he used to go to hear mass and vespers.

He was asked, what discourse he had with them? and if he had spoke to them of his visions?

He said, that he had told them what he had told to others.

He was asked, if he was acquainted with a man whose name was Colletet? and what discourse they had had together?

He said, that he knew him only by lodging in the same room with him; that they lay together, but that he had not spoke to him of his design.

He was asked, if he had had any discourse with any other friars?

He said, not in this last journey.

If he had had any discourse with a franciscan friar of Angoulême?

He said, Yes: but that he had not spoke to him of his enterprize, and of his imaginations.

He was told, that he did not say the truth; for that he had spoke to him of his imaginations, asking his opinion whether he, who had such imaginations, ought to declare them to his confessor.

To this he answered, that he had not spoke to a franciscan of his own country, but to another whom he met near Bourg de La-Royre, with whom he joined company; and, because he had no acquaintance in this city, he gave him part of his own lodgings, and carried letters from his friends to procure him admission into the convent: that he also carried his bundle for him; and that the name of this friar was Le-Febure.

It was observed to him, that, during the reading of his examination, when the wounds he had given the king were mentioned, he had asked pardon of God for that crime, but that the true means to obtain it, was to acknowledge the truth; that his pretence for committing that action was so slight, that he must certainly have been prompted to it by some one who was concerned in the success of that miserable stroke, of which we feel the effects.

He said, that, since he has been under confinement, he had been urged by several persons to make this confession, and even by the archbishop of Aix; but that he had been prompted by no person whatever, but by his own desires; and that, however he might be tormented, he should never say any thing else; that if torments could have forced him to confess, he had suffered sufficiently by the torture which a huguenot of his own private authority gave him, when he kept him prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz, by which he had the bone of his thumb broke.

He was told, that he had been chose to commit this action as a proper instrument of mischief; he whose whole life had been wicked, and who had begun with using a father and a mother ill, and reducing them to beggary.

He said, that it would not be found so; and that his father and mother, who were still living, would witness the contrary, as well as the people where he dwelt; that he had been indeed accused
and

and condemned for it; but it was by false witnesses; for he was innocent.

He was asked, when he was at Brussels?

He said, that he never was out of the kingdom; and that he did not know where Brussels is.

This examination being read to the said Ravillac, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

RAVAILLAC.

The examination taken next morning, at the palace, by us the commissioners, the first president being sick.

THE prisoner being sent for as before, and his oath taken,

He was asked, what was his rank and condition? and if he had a father or a mother alive?

He said, that he is a practitioner of the law, and that, before his confinement, he employed himself in instructing youth; and that his father is likewise a practitioner of the law, and that his mother is separated from his father.

We having again ordered his examination to be read to him, he persisted in his answers, without adding or diminishing any thing, except only that he omitted saying, as he did now, that he had been carried to the commission of that crime, because the king would not permit justice to be done upon the huguenots, for the attempt they made last Christmas to murder all the catholics, for which attempt many of the huguenots had been taken prisoners, and brought into this city; yet, he had been told, by several persons, were not punished.

He was told, that this was false; and that, although he had heard it, he should not have believed it, nor have been induced to commit a deed so wicked and abominable.

He said, that this was one of the circumstances which helped to strengthen the temptation.

He

He was told, that it was the advice and instruction of others which strengthened it.

He said, that no one was engaged in the design but himself.

He was asked, if he lived in the same country with his father and mother?

He said, that he had lived with his father and mother, but that his father neither loved him, nor his mother.

He was asked, how he maintained himself?

He said, that he had eighty scholars, and that, with what he gained from them, he supported himself in the journies he had made to this city.

He was asked, if his father and mother observed his conduct?

He said, that his father had not lived with them these six years; that he hated him; and that he had lived with his mother only, his sisters having likewise left her.

He was asked, what means he had of living?

He said, that his father and mother lived upon alms, and he himself upon what he gained from his scholars, one of whom gave him bacon, another flesh, another corn, wine, &c. and by what his friends furnished him with.

He was asked, who were his friends?

He said, that they were the fathers and mothers of his scholars.

He was asked, why he did not stay in his own country, since he could get a livelihood there?

He said, that he thought he should prefer the honour of God to all things.

He was told, that it was not for the honour of God to kill his king, but that it was an act of the devil.

He said, that it was a wicked temptation, which did not proceed from God, but was a punishment to him for his sins.

He

He was asked, if he was not filled with horror at the commission of an act so abominable, and of so fatal consequence to all France?

He said, that he was sorry for having committed it, but that since it was done, he implored God to give him grace, that he might be able to continue till death in good faith, lively hope, and perfect charity; and that he hoped God was more merciful, and his will to save him more powerful, than the act which he had committed was to damn him.

He was told, that he could not be in the grace of God, after having committed so wicked an action.

He said, that he hoped our all-powerful Lord would not make him suffer for it.

He was told, that he ought not to hope for the mercy of God, unless he acknowledged the truth, and declared who the persons were who had incited and persuaded him to so wicked a deed.

He said, that his only reason for committing it was, what he had declared before at his examination.

He was asked, if he had imparted his intention to any one?

He said, that he had not to any person whatever.

He was told, that he was too mean and inconsiderable a person to have conceived such a design, and that he must have been advised and supported by others.

He said, that no person had advised him.

He was told, that he was so much the more wicked, if he undertook such an enterprize without being advised to it; therefore he would do well to declare who were his advisers.

To this he answered, that the reason why he did not declare this pernicious intention to priests, and men who have the care of souls, was, that he was well assured if he had disclosed to them his design of killing the king, it was their duty to seize his person, and put him into the hands of justice; since whenever the public is concerned, priests are obliged

to

to reveal all confessions; for this reason therefore he would not open himself to any person, through a fear that he might be punished with death, as well for his intention of killing the king, as if he had really done it; for which he asked pardon of God.

He was told, that the church commands, that all evil thoughts should be revealed in confession, and to neglect it is a deadly sin.

He said, that he acknowledged this.

He was told, that he had mentioned it.

He said, he had not.

He was asked, if he had spoken of it to a Franciscan friar?

He said, No.

He was told, that he did not speak the truth, for that he had mentioned it to a Franciscan friar, asking him, whether, if a man had strange visions, such as to kill the king, he ought to declare them in his confession?

He said, that it was true he had consulted a friar upon this head, but did not tell him that he would do it.

He was asked, who it was that he consulted?

He said, a young Franciscan friar, named LeFebure, to whom he put this question, Whether, if a man was assaulted with a temptation, such as to kill a king, and should confess it to the penitentiary, he should be under a necessity of revealing it; but being interrupted by another friar, he could not know the friar's opinion concerning the case that he put to him.

He was told, that he did not say the truth, and that the Franciscan did make him an answer; and he was asked, if he would believe the Franciscan if he owned it?

He said, that he would not believe him; but that it was his opinion, that if the friar had given him an answer, it was, that he ought to reveal his imaginations; but he was interrupted, and therefore would

would not give him an answer; neither did he, the accused, propose the question to him, as if he was the man who had the temptation, but in general, as if it should happen to any man.

He was told, that he did not acknowledge the truth, and that he did declare his intentions to him.

He said, that it was very unlikely that he should do so; that he had applied, as well to lay-men as to others, even to an equerry belonging to queen Margaret, whose name was De-Ferrare; he declared his visions to him, and intreated him to procure him an opportunity to speak to the king; that the equerry answered, he must first have proofs that he was a good man, and one who was fit to speak to the king: to which he, the accused, made answer, that he thought he was good enough to speak to the king. He added, that probably if he had spoke to his majesty, he would have lost his temptation. That he afterwards applied to the secretary of madame de Angoulême, who told him that the king was sick; yet he went again to the house of the cardinal Du-Perron, where he had the answer he formerly repeated, That he would do better to return to his own house.

He was told, that that was good counsel, and he ought to have followed it.

He said that it was true, but he was so weakened by his sins that he had no power over himself; and that the devil made him fall into this temptation.

He was told, that the devil made use of others to tempt him.

He said, that no man had ever spoke to him on the subject.

He was told, that he could not hope for the grace of God, unless he discharged his conscience.

He said, that he had some fears, but he also had great hopes of the grace of God.

He was told, that he could not expect it but by declaring the truth.

He

He said, that if he had been employed by any one in France, or by a foreigner, and should be so abandoned by God as to die without declaring it, he should not believe that he would be saved, or that there would be any paradise for him, because *abissus abissunt*, &c. as he had learned of the preachers of our Lord; that one abyss of sins leads into others; that it was to double his crime, that the king, more especially the queen, the whole house of France, the court, the nobility, and all the people, should, on his account, be induced to offend God, while their minds remained in a perpetual inquietude, suspecting, unjustly, sometimes one, sometimes another, of their subjects; none of whom, he believed, were so imprudent, as to entertain a thought of being disloyal to their princes.

He was told, that if that was his opinion, he ought the more readily to declare who had persuaded him to the crime.

He said, that no Frenchman, foreigner, or any other, had ever advised, persuaded, or spoke to him on this subject; neither had he, the accused, ever mentioned it to any one: he was not so wicked as to have committed that deed for any other cause than what he had declared to us, namely, that he believed the king intended to make war upon the Pope.

He was told, that this was a false pretence.

He said, that he was very sorry for what he had done, and that he earnestly begged of every one to lay aside their suspicions of his having been set on to murder the king, and to believe that he only was concerned in that deed; and that they would not look with an evil eye, or bear any one ill will, since he alone was guilty.

He was asked, if he had ever been in service?

He said, that he had served the late monsieur Rosieres, a counsellor of Angoulême; and that he had lived likewise with some attorneys, who were now dead.

He

He was asked, if he had ever served any nobleman, as a page, footman, or valet de chambre?

He said that he had not; but when he lived with counsellor Rosieres, as his clerk, he likewise served him as a valet de chambre.

He was asked, if he had seen the coronation last Tuesday, and if he had followed the king?

He said he had not.

He was asked, if he had been on the road to Saint-Denis?

He said, not this last journey, but at Christmas last, when he went to beg alms of the bakers.

He was asked, if he had been there last week?

He said, he had not gone farther than Saint-Jean-en-Greve, and le Pont Notre-Dame.

He was asked, if he had any magical characters about him? and who had given them to him?

He said, he should have thought it a wicked thing to have them.

His examination being read to him, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

RAVAILLAC.

Underneath which he wrote these lines:

*Que toujours en mon cœur,
Jesús soit le vainqueur.*

In my heart let Jesus be always conqueror.

Father James Daubigny, priest of the college of Jesuits, was this day sent for into court by us the commissioners, in the presence of Ravaillac; both of them acknowledged the oaths they had taken.

The said Ravaillac acknowledged, that the said father Daubigny was the person whom he had heard say mass some time after last Christmas, in their church

church in Saint Antony's street; that having been told he was the friend of father Mary Magdalen the Feuillant, he went to seek him, to intreat him to procure his admission into that order; that after mass was over, he spoke to him by the means of a lay brother, and declared to him; that he had had great visions and imaginations, importing, that the king ought to reduce the followers of the pretended reformation; and that he shewed the said Daubigny a little knife, whereon was a heart and a cross; believing, that the king ought to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic and roman church.

The said Daubigny replied, that all this was false, and that he had never seen the said Ravaillac.

The said Ravaillac answered, By the same token you gave me a penny, which you asked of one that was near you.

To this the said Daubigny answered, that the prisoner was a very bad man; and after having committed so wicked an action, he had sins enough to answer for, without being the cause of an hundred thousand others, which might be committed.

The prisoner was then told, that if he had any objections to make to father Daubigny, he must make them immediately.

He said that he had none; that he looked upon the said father Daubigny to be an honest man, a good religious, and that he would believe him.

In like manner, the said Daubigny being told of the ordinance, that he must make his objections to the prisoner immediately, for they would not afterwards be received,

He said, that he had nothing else to say, but that the prisoner was a very wicked man, and had uttered several falsehoods.

The examination of the said Daubigny being read in the presence of the said Ravaillac, he, the said Daubigny, persisted in his answers, and declared that they were true.

But the said Ravaillac declared, that he had spoke to the said Daubigny: that he went to look for him when he came out of the Louvre, and told him that he had temptations; and that when he was in prison making his meditations, by permission of father Mary Magdalen, his hands and feet had sent forth a stench of sulphur and fire; which were proofs of the existence of a purgatory, contrary to the erroneous opinion of heretics; that he had visions of the sacred hosts on each side of his face, having before sung the Psalms of David; and, in a word, that he had related all those circumstances to him which he had declared to us the day before in his examination: and that the said Daubigny said to him, in answer, that he, the said Ravaillac, ought to apply to some great men to admonish the king: however, since he had not done it, it was more proper for him to pray to God, he being of opinion, that those visions he spoke of were merely imaginary, and the effects of a disordered brain, as might be perceived by his looks; that he ought to eat good soup, go to his own country, tell his beads, and pray to God.

To this the said Daubigny replied, that these were all dreams and lies.

We having caused the questions that were put to the said Ravaillac concerning the said Daubigny, with his answers, to be read to him in the presence of Daubigny, the said Ravaillac persisted in his answers, and declared that they were true.

The said Daubigny replied, that all which the said Ravaillac had deposed against him was false, as he had before declared to us.

Upon this, Ravaillac, being farther questioned, replied, that he had never seen the said Daubigny but that one time.

Their examination being read to them, they persisted in their answers, and signed their names.

The examination taken on the 19th of the said month of May, in the morning, at the Palace, by us the commissioners.

THE said Ravaillac being brought into court, and his oath taken, he was required to declare, who those persons were that had prompted him to so wicked an undertaking.

He said, that all which now remained for him to declare was, his intention and earnest desire to free himself from the load of his sins; that the whole nation was, upon his account, led to believe that he had been bribed by the enemies of France to kill the king, or by foreign kings and princes, who were desirous of aggrandising themselves, as was too common among the kings and great potentates of the earth, who do not consider whether their motive for making war is agreeable to the will of God; or else through a covetous desire of appropriating unjustly to themselves the territories of other princes; but that the truth was, he, the prisoner, had not been incited to that action by any person whatever; for if he could have been so wicked as to have committed it for money, or for the interest of foreigners, he would have acknowledged it in the presence of God, before whom he now maintained the truth: that he therefore intreated the queen, the court, and the whole nation, to believe him, and not to charge his soul with the crime they commit, in supposing he was prompted to that parricide by any other; for that this sin would fall heavy on him the prisoner, for being the cause of the uncertainty they were in which gave rise to their suspicions; and he therefore implored them to lay those suspicions aside, since no one but himself was able to judge of the fact, and it was such as he had confessed.

It was remonstrated to him, that since he had neither been injured in his person or goods by any command

command or ordinance of the king's, it was not probable he would make an attempt upon his sacred person, whom he knew to be God's anointed, unless he had been persuaded to it by some other persons, and had received money from them; he being a poor man, in want of the necessaries of life, and the son of parents who lived upon alms.

He said, that it is sufficiently proved to the court through the course of his examination, if he had, through the force of money, or by the persuasions of persons who are ambitious of the scepter of France, been prevailed upon to murder the king, he would not have come three times expressly from Angoulême to Paris, which was a hundred leagues distant from each other, to admonish the king to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apostolic, and roman church, as being persons who acted contrary to the will of God and his church; for a man who could be so wicked as to suffer himself to be corrupted, through avarice, to assassinate his prince, would not have come three several times to admonish him, as he had done; and that, since he had committed this parricide, the sieur de La-Force, captain of the guards, has acknowledged that he, the prisoner, had been at the Louvre, and earnestly entreated him to procure him the means of speaking to the king; and that the said sieur de La-Force told him he was a furious papist, asking him if he knew monsieur D'Epernon; to which he, the prisoner, replied, that he did know monsieur D'Epernon, and that he himself was not a furious papist; but that, when he had taken the habit in the monastery of St. Bernard, father Francis de St. Peter was appointed to be his spiritual father; and, since he was a true roman, and apostolic catholic, he was desirous of living and dying such: and he entreated the said sieur de La-Force to bring him to the speech of the king; for he durst not declare to him the temptation he had so long had to kill the king, all he wanted was to tell

it to his majesty, to the end that he might no longer be troubled with this bad intention.

He was asked, whether, when he took those journies to advise the king to make war upon the followers of the pretended reformation, he designed, in case his majesty had not complied with his desires, to have committed the wicked act he had done.

He said, he did not intend it in that case; for he should have laid aside his design, and have thought that it was better to make him that remonstrance than to kill him.

It was objected to him, that he had not changed his wicked intention; since, after his last journey from Angoulême, in Easter, he had not sought for an opportunity to speak to the king, which was a proof that he left Angoulême with a resolution to do what he had done.

He said, it was true.

He was asked, if, from Easter-day to that on which he left Angoulême, he had received the holy communion?

He said, he had not; and that he received it the first Sunday in Lent; but that he had, nevertheless, caused the holy sacrifice of the mass to be celebrated in St. Paul's church, at Angoulême, which was his parish church, as acknowledging himself unworthy of the most holy and august sacrament, full of mystery and incomprehensible virtue, because he was troubled with the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, and would not in such a state approach the precious body of his God.

It was objected to him, that, since he perceived he was not worthy of that mystery which he called incomprehensible, he could not assist with any devotion at that holy sacrifice celebrated by the priest, of which all christians participate, receiving spiritually that which he who consecrates receives actually.

To this he was silent. He continued some time pensive and in thought, and then said, that he did
not

not well know what to answer to their remonstrance; but afterwards he said, that he remembred it was his great affection for the most holy sacrament of the altar, which induced him to have it celebrated; and that he hoped he should participate of the communion by means of his mother, who was going to receive her God in that sacrifice; because he was always of opinion, that she was more pious, and had more love for her God than he had. Saying this he shed many tears.

He was told, that he could have no reverence for, nor any faith in the holy communion and sacrifice of the mass, since he had, for a long time, been under the influence of the devil, and been accustomed to invoke dæmons, whom he caused to appear to him, when he lodged in this city, about four years ago.

He said, that he never had invoked demons.

He was asked, if he knew a man named Dubois, born in Limoges? and whether they lodged together in this city, and lay in the same chamber?

He said, he did know him: that they lodged together at the sign of the Rats, opposite to the Green Pillar in Harp-street.

He was asked, if he would believe what the said Dubois should say?

He said, Yes, he would believe him.

He was asked, whether, as he lay in bed with the said Dubois, he did not use some magical incantation invoking the Demons? and in what manner?

He said, that this was so far from being true, that he did not even lye in the same chamber with the said Dubois, but in a garret over the room where he, the said Dubois, lay: that, about midnight, the said Dubois, repeating *Credo in Deum*, earnestly entreated him, several times, to come down to him; saying, Ravaillac, my friend, come down; and crying aloud, My God, have mercy upon me: that thereupon he, the prisoner, would have gone down to him to know why he cried out for help in such a manner,

manner, but he was hindered by some persons in the room with him, who were terrified with the cries of the said Dubois: but that he, the prisoner, going down to Dubois some time afterwards, he told him, that he had seen a black dog of a monstrous size, and very terrible, which came and laid its two fore-paws upon his bed; and that the terror this vision threw him into made him utter those cries, and entreat that he, the prisoner, would come into his room and stay with him; upon which he, the prisoner, advised the said Dubois to have recourse to the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the altar, in order to get rid of his horrible visions, and to cause mass to be said the next morning; and that they went together accordingly the next morning to the convent of the franciscan friars, and caused the holy mass to be said, to draw down the grace of God upon them, and to preserve them from the ineursions of the devils, the common enemies of mankind.

It was objected to him, that it was not at all probable that the said Dubois should have called to him who lay so high; or that he should have heard his voice.

He answered, that nothing was more likely, it being one of the properties of the voice to ascend; but that, since the court would not believe him, the truth of what he said would be attested by those persons who were in the room where he lay, and who hindered him from going to the said Dubois: that they were his landlady, Mary Moiseau, and a cousin of hers, named John Le-Blond, who came into his room on account of the great noise they had heard, and for which he had quitted the room of the said Dubois, where he had lain before.

He was told, that he had no desire to get rid of his temptation, and therefore would not receive the communion on Easter-day, lest it should have the power to divert him from his purpose.

He said, that his reason for not receiving the communion was, that he had, on Easter-day, taken
a reso-

a resolution to kill the king, and upon that account he would not really, and in fact, receive the precious body of our Lord; but had a desire to hear the holy mass before he set out, believing that the sacrament, which his mother received that day, would be sufficient both for her and him, as he then begged of God that it might, and as he did now, and would to his death implore him, that he might be made partaker of all the holy communions, taken by the religious of both sexes, by good men seculars, and others in the catholic, apostolic, and roman church, receiving in the faith of our holy mother the church, the precious body of our Redeemer; and that, being thus received by them, he might be made partaker of it, as believing himself a member of one only Jesus Christ.

He was told, that, having resolved upon so wicked an act, he was in the state of mortal sin, and in danger of damnation, and could not partake of the grace of God, and the communion of good christians, while he continued to have this wicked intention; and that he ought to have altered it, if he hoped to be in the grace of God as a good catholic and christian, as he would be thought to be.

He said, that he did not, in the least, doubt but that he was prompted to it by the motions of his own mind, against the will of God, the author of all truth, contrary to the devil, who is the father of lies; but that now, through the remonstrance of the court, he acknowledged that he either could not or would not resist that temptation, it being out of the power of men to hinder him from committing that wicked action; that he now declared the whole truth, without suppressing or concealing any thing; therefore he hoped that God, who was all good and merciful, would grant him pardon and remission of his sins, he being more powerful to save him, provided he made confession and received absolution, than men were to hurt him; and that he beseeched the Holy Virgin Mary, Monsieur

P 4

St. Peter,

manner, but he was hindered by some persons in the room with him, who were terrified with the cries of the said Dubois: but that he, the prisoner, going down to Dubois some time afterwards, he told him, that he had seen a black dog of a monstrous size, and very terrible, which came and laid its two fore-paws upon his bed; and that the terror this vision threw him into made him utter those cries, and entreat that he, the prisoner, would come into his room and stay with him; upon which he, the prisoner, advised the said Dubois to have recourse to the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the altar, in order to get rid of his horrible visions, and to cause mass to be said the next morning; and that they went together accordingly the next morning to the convent of the franciscan friars, and caused the holy mass to be said, to draw down the grace of God upon them, and to preserve them from the ineursions of the devils, the common enemies of mankind.

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a resolution to kill the king, and upon that account he would not really, and in fact, receive the precious body of our Lord; but had a desire to hear the holy mass before he set out, believing that the sacrament, which his mother received that day, would be sufficient both for her and him, as he then begged of God that it might, and as he did now, and would to his death implore him, that he might be made partaker of all the holy communions, taken by the religious of both sexes, by good men seculars, and others in the catholic, apostolic, and roman church, receiving in the faith of our holy mother the church, the precious body of our Redeemer; and that, being thus received by them, he might be made partaker of it, as believing himself a member of one only Jesus Christ.

He was told, that, having resolved upon so wicked an act, he was in the state of mortal sin, and in danger of damnation, and could not partake of the grace of God, and the communion of good christians, while he continued to have this wicked intention; and that he ought to have altered it, if he hoped to be in the grace of God as a good catholic and christian, as he would be thought to be.

He said, that he did not, in the least, doubt but that he was prompted to it by the motions of his own mind, against the will of God, the author of all truth, contrary to the devil, who is the father of lies; but that now, through the remonstrance of the court, he acknowledged that he either could not or would not resist that temptation, it being out of the power of men to hinder him from committing that wicked action; that he now declared the whole truth, without suppressing or concealing any thing; therefore he hoped that God, who was all good and merciful, would grant him pardon and remission of his sins, he being more powerful to save him, provided he made confession and received absolution, than men were to hurt him; and that he beseeched the Holy Virgin Mary, Monsieur

P 4

St. Peter,

St. Peter, Monsieur St. Francis, (here he wept) Monsieur St. Bernard, and all the celestial court of Paradise, to be his advocates and intercessors with the most sacred majesty, to the end that he might interpose his cross between his soul and hell; and by that he hoped to be made partaker of the merits of our Saviour Christ's passion, most humbly beseeching him that he would give him grace to continue associated with the merits of all those treasures he gave to the apostolic power on earth, when he said, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

His examination being read to him, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

R A V A I L L A C.

On the 27th of May, 1610, in the Morning, at the Palace.

The Confrontation of the Witnesses before us, ACHILLES DE HARLAY, Knight, first President; NICHOLAS POITIER, President; PROSPER BAVIN and JOHN COURTIN, Counsellors. &c.

PAUL Noster, exempt of the guards, was confronted with the prisoner; both of them acknowledged the oath they had taken.

The accused said, that the witness was the person who took him prisoner, and the witness, that the accused was the prisoner whom he took.

The prisoner then was told, that, if he had any objections to make against the witness, he must make them immediately, according to the ordinance of the realm.

He said, that he had none.

The deposition of this witness being read to him, he persisted in it; and the prisoner acknowledging that it was true, they both signed it.

The

The prisoner was then confronted with James de Pluviers, Esq; of St. Michael.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner was then confronted with Jerome de La-Roby, equerry to the king.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner was then confronted with Gamaliel Edovart, one of the king's footmen.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner said, that he knew him to be one of the king's footmen, but that he did not know if he was the person who seized him after he committed the act; and, being put in mind of the ordinance, he said, he had no objection to make to him.

The Prisoner was then confronted with Peter Dubois.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner acknowledged, that what he said was true; but that it was by his advice that the witness had been to hear mass at the convent of the franciscan friars, at which he likewise was present.

They both signed their names.

May 27th, 1610, the Court sat in the Afternoon in the Chamber de LA-BEUVETTE.

WE the presidents, and several of the counsellors being present, the prisoner, Francis Ravaillac, was brought into court, who having been accused and convicted of parricide committed on the person of the late king, he was ordered to kneel, and the clerk of the court pronounced the sentence of death given against him; as likewise that he should be put to the torture to force him to declare his accomplices.

His oath being taken, he was exhorted to redeem himself from the torments preparing for him, by acknowledging the truth, and declaring who those persons were that had persuaded, prompted, and abetted him, in that most wicked action, and to whom

whom he had disclosed his intention of committing it.

He said, by the salvation I hope for, no one but myself was concerned in this action.

He was then ordered to be put to the torture of the brodequin*, and the first wedge being drove, he cried out, "God have mercy upon my soul, and pardon the crime I have committed; I never disclosed my intention to any one." This he repeated as he had done in his interrogation.

When the second wedge was drove, he said with loud cries and shrieks, "I am a sinner, I know no more than I have declared, by the oath I have taken, and by the truth which I owe to God and the court: all I have said was to the little franciscan, which I have already declared: I never mentioned my design in confession, or in any other way: I never spoke of it to the visitor of Angoulême, nor revealed it in confession in this city. I beseech the court not to drive my soul to despair."

The executioner continuing to drive the second wedge, he cried out, "My God, receive this penance as an expiation for the great crimes I have committed in this world: Oh God! accept these torments in satisfaction for my sins. By the faith I owe to God, I know no more than what I have declared. Oh! do not drive my soul to despair."

The third wedge was then drove lower near his feet, at which a universal sweat covered his body, and he fainted away. The executioner forced some wine into his mouth, but he could not swallow it; and, being quite speechless, he was released from the torture, and water thrown upon his face and

* The brodequin is a strong wooden box, made in the form of a boot, just big enough to contain both the legs of the criminal, which being put therein, a wooden

wedge is then drove with a mallet between his knees, and after that is forced quite through, a second wedge of a larger size, is applied in the same manner.

hands. Some wine being forced down his throat, his speech returned, and he was laid upon a matrafs in the same place, where he continued till noon. When he had recovered his strength, he was conducted to chapel by the executioner; and messieurs Fillesafqs and Gamaches, two doctors of the Sorbonne, being sent for, his dinner was given him; but before the divines entered into a conference with him, the clerk admonished him to think of his salvation, and confess by whom he had been prompted, persuaded and abetted in the wicked action he had committed, and so long designed to commit; it not being probable, that he should of himself have conceived and executed it, without communicating it to any other.

He said, that if he had known more than what he had declared to the court, he would not have concealed it, well knowing, that in this case he could not have the mercy of God, which he hoped for and expected; and that he would not have endured the torments he had done, if he had any farther confession to make. He said, he acknowledged that he had committed a great crime, to which he had been incited by the temptation of the devil: that he entreated the king, the queen, the court, and the whole kingdom, to pardon him, and to cause prayers to be put up to God for him, that his body might bear the punishment for his soul. And being many times admonished to reveal the truth, he only repeated what he had said before. He was then left with the doctors, that they might perform the duties of their office with him.

A little after two o'clock the clerk of the court was sent for by the divines, who told him, that the condemned had charged them to send for him, that he might hear and sign his confession, which he desired might be revealed, and even printed, to the end that it might be known to the whole world; which confession the said doctors declared to have been,

been, That no one had been concerned with him in the act he had committed; That he had not been solicited, prompted, or abetted, by any other person whatever, nor had discovered his design to any one; That he acknowledged he had committed a great crime, for which he hoped to have the mercy of God, which was still greater than his sins, but which he could not hope to obtain if he concealed any thing.

Hereupon the clerk asked the condemned, if he was willing that his confession should be known and revealed? and, as above, admonished him to acknowledge the truth for the salvation of his soul. He then declared upon his oath, that he had said all he knew, and that no one had incited him to commit the murder.

At three o'clock he came from the chapel; and as he was carrying out of the Conciergerie, the prisoners, in great numbers, thronged about him, with loud cries and exclamations, calling him Traitor, Wicked Wretch, Detestable Monster, Damned Villain, and the like; they would have struck him, had they not been hindered by the archers, and the other officers of justice, who kept them off by force.

When he was put into the tumbril, the crowd was so great, that it was with the utmost difficulty the archers and officers of justice could force themselves a passage; and as soon as the prisoner appeared, that vast multitude began to cry out, as above, Wicked Wretch, Traitor, &c.

The enraged populace continued their cries and execrations till he arrived at the Greve; where, before he was taken out of the tumbril to mount the scaffold, he was again exhorted to reveal his accomplices; but he persisted in his former declaration, that he had none; again imploring pardon of the young king, the queen, and the whole kingdom, for the crime he had committed.

When

When he had ascended the scaffold, the two doctors comforted him, and exhorted him to acknowledge the truth; and after performing the duties of their function, the clerk approached him, and urged him to think of his salvation now at the close of his life, and to confess all he knew; to which he only answered as he had done before.

The fire being put to his right hand, holding the knife with which he had stabbed the king, he cried out, *Ob God!* and often repeated, *Jesu Marie!* while his breast, &c. were tearing with red hot pincers, he renewed his cries and prayers; during which, being often admonished to acknowledge the truth, he persisted in denying that he had any accomplices. The furious crowd continued to load him with execrations, crying, that he ought not to have a moment's respite. Afterwards, by intervals, melted lead and scalding oil were poured upon his wounds; during which he shrieked aloud, and continued his cries and exclamations.

The doctors again admonished him, as likewise the clerk, to confess, and were preparing to offer up publicly the usual prayers for the condemned; but immediately the people, with great tumult and disorder, cried out against it, saying, that no prayers ought to be made for that wicked wretch, that damned monster. So that the doctors were obliged to give over. Then the clerk remonstrating to him, that the indignation of the people was a judgment upon him, which ought to induce him to declare the truth, he persisted to answer as formerly, saying, I only was concerned in the murder.

He was then drawn by four horses, for half an hour, by intervals.

Being again questioned and admonished, he persisted in denying that he had any accomplices; while the people of all ranks and degrees, both near and at a distance, continued their exclamations, in token of their great grief for the loss of their king.

Several persons set themselves to pull the ropes with the utmost eagerness; and one of the noblesse, who was near the criminal, alighted off his horse, that it might be put in the place of one which was tired with drawing him. At length, when he had been drawn for a full hour by the horses, without being dismembered, the people, rushing on in crowds, threw themselves upon him, and with swords, knives, sticks, and other weapons, they struck, tore, and mangled his limbs; and violently forcing them from the executioner, they dragged them through the streets with the utmost eagerness and rage, and burnt them in different parts of the city.

May the twenty-first, 1610.

THE jailor caused the court to be informed that he had heard the prisoner say something of consequence; upon which he was sent for, and the oath being administered to him,

He said, That the even before, carrying the prisoner's supper to him, with one of his men, the two archers who guarded him being present, he asked the prisoner where he was when the king went out of the Louvre? to which the prisoner replied, that he was sitting in the hall among the footmen: and being again asked, why he committed such an action? the prisoner answered, "Because of a great —
" but I will not tell you, but I will tell the court
" to-morrow; and I could not help doing it, as I
" shall prove by my body."

Then archer of the provost of l'Hôtel, being sent for, the oath was administered to him.

He repeated what the jailor had said, adding, that the prisoner said, that his mother had a mark like his; for which reason he could not avoid doing what he did; and that perceiving the king's coach to stop, he saw a vision, which said to him, *Now is the time.*

Then

Then was heard upon oath archer like-wise of the provost of l'Hôtel.

He also repeated what the jailor had said, adding, that the prisoner said, he was under the necessity of committing that action, by a mark which he and his mother had, that it came from heaven, and that he would declare it to the court, &c.

*Sentence of Death against Francis Ravaillac,
May 28, 1610.*

Extracted from the Registers of the Parliament.

THE court, consisting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being assembled, and having seen the criminal proceedings, formed by the presidents and counsellors in that behalf, appointed by commission, at the requisition of the king's attorney-general, against Francis Ravaillac, a practitioner of the law, of the city of Angoulême, prisoner in the Conciergerie of the palace; as also the information made against him, the interrogatories, confessions, answers, and cross-examinations of witnesses, and the state of the case by the king's attorney-general; and the said Ravaillac having been heard and examined by the said court, touching the matters laid to his charge; and touching the verbal process of the interrogatories administrated to him on the rack; which, by order of the said court, he underwent on the 25th of this month, for discovery of his accomplices: On consideration of the whole.

The said court hath declared, and doth declare, the said Ravaillac duly attainted of the crime of high-treason, divine and human, in the highest degree, for the most wicked, most abominable, and most detestable parricide, committed on the
person

person of the late king, Henry IV. of good and laudable memory; for reparation whereof, the court hath condemned, and doth condemn him, to make the *amende honorable*, before the principal gate of the church of Paris, whither he shall be carried and drawn in a tumbril in his shirt, bearing a lighted torch of two pound weight, and that he shall there say and declare, that wickedly and traiterously he hath committed the aforesaid most wicked, most abominable, and most detestable parricide, and murdered the said lord the king, by stabbing him twice in the body with a knife; that he repents of the same, and begs pardon of God, the king, and the laws: from thence he shall be carried to the Greve, and, on a scaffold to be there erected, the flesh shall be torn to pieces with red-hot pincers from his breasts, his arms, and thighs, and the calves of his legs; his right hand, holding the knife wherewith he committed the aforesaid parricide, shall be scorched and burned with flaming brimstone; and on the places where the flesh has been torn with pincers, melted lead, boiling oil, scalding pitch, with wax and brimstone melted together, shall be poured: after this, he shall be torn in pieces by four horses, his limbs and body burnt to ashes, and dispersed in the air. His goods and chattels are also declared to be forfeited and confiscated to the king. And it is further ordained, that the house in which he was born shall be pulled down to the ground (the owner thereof being previously indemnified) and that no other building shall ever hereafter be erected on the foundation thereof: and that within fifteen days after the publication of this present sentence, his father and mother shall, by sound of trumpet and public proclamation in the city of Angoulême, be banished out of the kingdom, and forbid ever to return, under the penalty of being hanged and strangled, without any farther form or process

at

at law. The court has also forbidden, and doth forbid, his brothers, sisters, uncles, and others, from henceforth to bear the said name of Ravaillac, enjoining them to change it to some other; under the like penalties; and ordering the substitute of the king's attorney-general to cause this present sentence to be published and carried into execution, under pain of being answerable for the same; and before the execution thereof, the court doth order, that the said Ravaillac shall again undergo the torture for the discovery of his accomplices.

Pronounced and executed the
27th day of May, 1610.

VOISIN

Extract from the Registers of Parliament.

THE court, consisting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being assembled, and proceeding to judgment on the criminal process extraordinary, formed at the requisition of the king's attorney-general, on account of the most wicked, most cruel, and most detestable parricide, committed on the sacred person of the late king Henry IV. and having thereupon heard the king's said attorney-general; hath ordered, and doth order, that, at the instance of the dean and syndic of the faculty of divinity, the said faculty shall be assembled, as soon as may be, to deliberate; and having heard the tenor of the decree of the said faculty of the 13th of December, 1413, and the resolution founded on the opinion of one hundred forty-one doctors of the said faculty, since confirmed by the council of Constance; *That it is not lawful for any one, who-ever be he, to make any attempt on the sacred persons of kings, and other sovereign princes:* The said
VOL. V. Q decree

décree thereon to be made by the said assembly, shall be subscribed by all the doctors of the said faculty, who shall have been present at the deliberations; and also by all the batchelors, who are members of the body of divinity; which said decree being communicated to the said attorney-general, and produced to this court, such order shall be made thereon as reason shall require.

Done in parliament, the 27th May, 1610.

20 AU 66

A. GE.

A GENERAL

INDEX.

A.

A B B E Y S. Taken out of the hands of the protestants: Sully disposes of his, v. 105. See *Benefices*.

Abbeville. Henry IV. makes his entry there, ii. 11.

Abjuration of Henry IV. i. 330. And other particulars relating to this ceremony, ib.

Abbie. (Abbey of) Sully parts with it, v. 105.

Absolution of Henry IV. difficulty in prevailing upon the Pope to grant it, ii. 48. He grants it, at last, upon certain conditions, 59. Remarks upon this ceremony, ib.

Academy Royale. Proposed to be instituted by Henry IV. iv. 336.

Acharie. (Lady) To whom father Cotton was confessor, iv. 148.

Achmet, emperor of the Turks, succeeds Mahomet III. Troubles at Constantinople during his reign. Obtains permission of Henry IV. to have a resident at Marseilles; iv. 395.

Admirals of France, Coligny, Epernon, La Valette, Biron, Villars, Danville: See these names.

Aersens, (Francis) Ambassador from the United Provinces to France. Carries on his negotiations with great success, iii. 72. Cardinal Richelieu's saying of him, ib. Henry IV. suspected of having an intrigue with his wife, ib. Gives information of a supposed union of Spain and England to invade France, 139. iv. 22. Is deputed by Henry IV. to the duke of Bouillon, 132. Makes presents to the king and queen, and receives some from them, 173. Returns to Paris to finish his negotiation, 200.

Africa. Designs of Charles V. of Philip II. and the house of Austria, upon that part of the world; and obstacles they meet with, iv. 111. Part of Henry's great design relating to Africa. See *Political Design*.

Agéaux. (Des) Lieutenant de Roi, of St. Jean d'Angely,

I N D E X.

- gely, serves Henry IV. at the battle of Coutras, i. 140. Henry refuses to give his post to the duke of Rohan, iii. 413. And bestows 'it upon La-Rochefort, iv. 151. See *Rohan, Rochebeaucourt*.
- Agelle* (Mademoiselle d') beloved by Henry IV. i. 61.
- Agen*. Taken by the roman catholics during the peace, i. 61. Taken a second time, ii. 98.
- Agoust*. Henry's opinion of this house, iv. 239. See *Bonne, Creguy, Lesdiguières*.
- Aides*. Abuses in this part of the revenue corrected by Sully, iv. 2. Regulations for this purpose, which make part of the cabinet of state, iv. 340. See *Cabinet of State*.
- Aides*. (Court of) See *Sovereign Court*.
- Aignan*. (Count de Saint) Gratuity granted him by Henry IV. iv. 10.
- Aigubelle*. Taken by Sully, 323. An adventure there, by which Grillon became the friend of Sully, iii. 381. See *Sully, Grillon*.
- Aigues-Mortes*. Pawned by the Prince of Condé to prince Casimir, i. 72.
- Aillant*. Sully visits his estates there, i. 214.
- Aine*. The passage of that river, and the advantage gained there by Henry IV. over the prince of Parma, i. 211. See *Henry IV. Parma*.
- Aix*. (Lêwis d') His party in Provence, i. 271. He attempts to deliver up Marseilles to the Spaniards, ii. 27. See *Marseilles*.
- Alagon*. See *Meyrargues*.
- Albe*. (Duke of) Has a conference with Catherine of Medicis at Baïonne, i. 19. See *Baïonne, Medicis*.
- Albe-Royale*, in Hungary, taken by the duke of Mercœur, ii. 398. Retaken by the Turks, iii. 66.
- Albigny*. (Charles de Semaine d') Surprises Genève, and is driven from thence, iii. 74. See *Geneva*.
- Albret*. (House of) Alliance between that house and the family of Rohan, ii. 97. Which, on failure of children in a direct line, are next heirs to the estates of Albret, iii. 384. Henry IV. unites those estates to the crown, iv. 211. Law-suit betwixt Henry IV. and the house of Nevers for those estates, 220. See *Rohan, Nevers*.
- Albret*, (Henry d') King of Navarre. See *Navarre*.
- (Jane d') Queen of Navarre. See *Navarre*.
- (Henry d') Baron de Mioffens. See *Mioffens*.

Aldegondé,

I N D E X.

- Aldegonde.* (Philip Marnix de Saint) A protestant officer. The prince of Orange informs him of the designed treachery at Antwerp, i. 86.
- Aldobrandin,* (Cardinal) Nephew and legat of Clement VIII. comes to France to treat of a peace. Sully's reception of him, and his prudent advice to him, ii. 338. His conferences at Lyons with the commissioners appointed by Henry IV. 342. Breaks them off upon account of the demolition of Fort St. Catherine, 343. Resumes the treaty with Sully, and concludes it, 346. His friendship for Sully, iii. 14. Presents from Henry IV. iv. 211. See *Sully, Peace, Savoy.*
- Alençon.* Hertray seizes it for the princes. They join their forces there, i. 46. Taken from the League by Henry's forces, 188. See *Hertray, Henry IV.*
- Alençon,* (Francis de Valois, Duke of) Afterwards duke of Anjou. See *Anjou.*
- Alexander,* (Father) A jesuit, endeavours to procure the re-establishment of his society in France, iii. 236.
- Alexandrini* (Cardinal) called to the council, where they project the destruction of the protestants, i. 27.
- Algiers.* Spain endeavours to get possession of it, iii. 198.
- Alibour,* First physician to Henry IV. i. 206. A humorous dialogue between Henry IV. and him, concerning the fair Gabrielle, ii. 31. His Death. Some circumstances relating to it, ib. See *Henry, Estrees, Sancy.*
- Alincourt,* (Charles de Neufville, Marquis of) governor of Pontoise, attempts to surprise Mante, i. 221. Concludes a treaty with Henry IV. 379. Obtains the government of Lyons, ib. Henry refuses to give him the post of grand-master of the ordnance, ii. 153. The sum of money granted him by his treaty, 227. Is sent to Rome on occasion of the designed marriage between Henry IV. and Mary of Medicis, 314. Gratuities and favours which he received from the queen regent, v. 77. A great dispute in the council between him and Sully on the affair of Lyons, 81.
- Allegre.* (Andrew d'). See *Ferraques.* (Countess of)
- Allegre,* (Christopher, Marquis of) takes Rouen for the League, i. 190. Assassinate Hallot, iv. 228.
- Allymes,* (René de Lueinge Des) the duke of Savoy's commissioner in the affairs of Salluces, ii. 301. Endeavours to corrupt Sully by presents, 302. See *Savoy, Salluces, Sully.*

I N D E X.

- Almoner.** (Great) That office given to cardinal Perron upon Sully's recommendation, iv. 145.
- Alpin.** (Saint) de Bethune. His example proposed to Sully by Paul V. iv. 19. See *Bethune*.
- Ambassadors and Embassies** from Elizabeth and the United Provinces to Henry IV. Political discourse of this prince upon this occasion, ii. 178. See *Henry*, *Cecil*, *Nassau*, *Elizabeth*, &c. Of the duke of Luxembourg to Rome. See *Luxembourg*. Of Sillery to Rome. See *Sillery*. From the grand seignior to Henry IV. See *Mustapha*. From the Venetians to Henry IV. See *Venice*. From the archduke to Henry. See *Archdukes*. Embassy of Canaye to Venice; of Bethune to Rome; of marshal Biron to London, and to the Swiss cantons. See these names. A solemn embassy of the Swiss cantons to France. See *Swiss Cantons*. Marquis of Rosny sent ambassador extraordinary to king James I. See *Sully*, *James I.* Ambassadors appointed by Henry IV. during the war of Cleves, iii. 202.
- Amblise** (Africanus d' Anglure d') defeated by the duke of Bouillon, 265.
- Amboise.** One of the five towns which continued faithful to Henry III. i. 159.
- (George de Clermont d') follows Henry IV. into Franche Comté, ii. 56.
- (Bully d') See *Bully*.
- America.** Designs of Charles V. and Philip II. upon that part of the world, and the obstacles they meet with, iv. 111, 112. See *Charles V.* *Philip II.* Part of the great design relating to this part of the world. See *Political Design*.
- Amerval.** See *Liancourt*.
- Amiens.** Henry IV. makes his entrance into that city, ii. 11. He stays there some time, 81, 82. His answer to the deputies of that city, 82. Taken by the Spaniards, 139. Disquiet it gives Henry, 140. His preparations to retake this city, 142. Begins the siege, 148. Sully's endeavours to secure the success of it, 149. The Spaniards unable to prevent its being taken, 157, 159. Henry IV. goes there to conclude the treaty of Ver-
vins, 193.
- Amours.** (N. d') Commissioner for levying the tax of a penny in the shilling, iii. 3.
- Antel.** (William) Maître de hôtel to the king, resident at Vienna, iii. 394. In Poland, iv. 146.

Andin,

I N D E X.

- Aubin*, (John de Bethune, abbot d') revered as a saint, i. 6. See *Bethune*.
- Ancorage* (Rights of) established, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sully, iii. 209.
- Andelot* (Charles de Chatillon-Coligny, marquis of) disputes Sully's prisoners with him, i. 199. A quarrel between them on that occasion, 201. Henry IV. decides it for Sully, 206, 207.
- (Francis de Chatillon-Coligny, marquis of) His three children all died or were murdered at one time, i. 215.
- (Guy de Laval d') saved at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and fled to Geneva, i. 34.
- Andre*. (Saint) A village where the battle of Ivry was fought, i. 196. See *Ivry*.
- Andre*. (N. de Saint) An officer in the ordnance, iv. 349.
- Andresy*. Conferences upon religion held at this place, ii. 342. Names of those persons who assisted at the conference, and the subjects treated of, ib.
- Ansreville*. The catholics drove from that place, i. 188.
- Ansreville*. (N. d') Taken prisoner by Sully at the battle of Ivry, i. 196, 197.
- Ange*. (Father) See *Joyeuse*, (*Henry de*).
- Angel*. (N. de Saint) Assists the king's party in Lemosin, ii. 98. Contributes to the taking of Bourg, 316. Solicits for marshal Biron's pardon, iii. 26.
- Angely*. (St. John d') Sully visits this place, iii. 167. The post of king's lieutenant refused to its governor, 413. and given to La-Rochebeaucourt, iv. 151. Rohan obliges the regent to grant it to him, vi. 164. See *Rohan*, *Rochebeaucourt*.
- Angennes*. (Francis d'). See *Mont-luat*.
- (John d'). See *Poigny*.
- (Lewis d'). See *Maintenon*.
- (Nicholas d'). See *Rambouillet*.
- Angers*. Prince of Condé fails in his attempt upon this place, i. 108. Henry IV. stays some time there in his journey to Brittany, the business he transacts there, ii. 37, 38. See *Henry*, *Mercœur*, &c.
- Angillon*. (La Chapelle d') A house purchased by Sully, v. 104. The improvements he makes in it, 187.
- Angoulême* (Charles de Valois, count of) and duke of Auvergne. See *D'Auvergne*.
- (Charlotte de Montmorency, duchess of) Proxy for the archduke at the baptism of the princess Elizabeth

I N D E X.

Beth of France, iv. 39. See *France*. Employed in the amours of Henry IV. iv. 181, 242, 247.

Angoulême (Henry de Bourbon, count of), Grand prior and governor of Provence, i. 268.

Anjou. (Cities in) Taken by Henry IV. i. 53.

— (Charles of) receives great favours from the family of Béthune in his wars with Mainfroi, i. 6. See *Béthune*.

— (Francis de Valois, duke of Alençon, since duke of) otherways Monsieur. Plots with the king of Navarre to strangle the queen mother, i. 13. They endeavour to procure a marriage between him and queen Elizabeth, 16. Joins the malcontents, 43. Arrested *ib.* Recovers his liberty, 46. Great enmity between him and Henry III. 36. 45. Joins his forces with Henry IV. and the prince of Condé, 46. Catherine disunites them from the protestants by the peace of Monsieur, 48, and 49. Design of this princess to make him king of Algiers. Negotiations to this effect, 76. His character, 80. See *Sauvres*. Goes to Flanders. Received into Cambray, and takes the castle by assault. His treachery to the governor, 84. Goes to England, 85. Returns to Flanders, where he is crowned duke of Brabant, *ib.* Enters into a sort of engagement with Elizabeth, *ib.* His resentment to the city of Antwerp, 86. Disobliges Sully and the protestants, 89. He loses his army and returns to France, 91. Retires in disgrace to Château-Thierry. Sully visits him there, 92. His death, 93. His titles. Designed to be married to the sister of Henry IV. ii. 255. Philip II. motives for engaging him in the enterprise of Antwerp, iv. 331. See the names mentioned in this article.

Anjou, (Gaston-John Baptist de France, duke of) Third son of Henry IV. afterwards duke of Orleans. His birth, iv. 257. Henry proposes to marry him to the princess of Mantua, 326. His fondness for Sully, v. 75.

— (Henry de Valois, duke of) King of France. See *Henry III.*

Lussemb. (the duke of) Sully charged with holding a criminal correspondence with this prince, ii. 116.

Anti-Christ. The protestants gave this name to the whole family of Medicis, i. 20. The Pope *Antichrist*. A tenet proposed to the synod of Gap. Opposed by Sully,

I N D E X.

- iii. 213. Debates upon the same tenet in the synod of Rochelle, iv. 185, 186.
- Anthony* (N. de St.) Henry IV. sends him to the king of England, iii. 187.
- Antibes*. Henry IV. proposes to make a purchase in the neighbourhood of this place, iv. 288.
- Antonio*, (Don Simon) deputy from Spain, opposes the treaty between Sully and Villars, i. 362. The conversation betwixt Sully and him at the governor's, 381. Villars obliges him to leave Rouen, ib.
- Antoine*. (Port St.) Repaired, iv. 230.
- Anton*. (Claude Batarnay d') First husband to the wife of Admiral Coligny, i. 16.
- Antonin*. See *Guich* (Countess of).
- Antwerp*. The duke of Anjou is crowned there duke of Brabant, i. 85. Insurrection upon account of the prince of Orange being wounded there, ib. Monsieur endeavours to seize it by surprise, and fails in his attempt, 87. Cause of the hatred the Dutch bore him, 85. See *Anjou*, *Orange*. The prince of Orange makes an unsuccessful attack upon this city, iv. 198. Motives of the counsel given by Philip II. against this city, 332.
- Arambure*. (N. d') Present at the battle of Aumale: at the attack of the great convoy before Laon, i. 404. Attends Henry IV. in the campaign of Franche-Compte, ii. 55, 56, 143. Treated with great familiarity by Henry IV. v. 7.
- Arcadius*, Emperor of the East, v. 114.
- Archant*. (N. de L') Present at the battle of Ivry, i. 198.
- Archduke of Austria*. (Albert cardinal) Loses an opportunity of beating the French before Amiens, ii. 157, 159. Bon-mot of Henry on this occasion, ib. Signs at Brussels the treaty of Vervins for the king of Spain, 195. Goes to fetch the archduchess of Gratz to Philip II. and conducts her through Marseilles, ii. 253. Marries the Infanta Isabella, and is made governor of the Low Countries, 254. He loses the battle of Nieuport, 350. Besieges Ostend, 363. Sends the count of Solre ambassador to Henry at Calais, 367. Indisposed at Brussels, iii. 57. The disposition and true political views of the archduke in Flanders with regard to Spain and the house of Austria, 171. He favours the conspiracy of the English lords against king James, 196. Bad success in the war against the Dutch, 201. He concludes the treaty of suspension of arms between

I N D E X.

- between Spain and the United Provinces, iv. 203. Endeavours sincerely to bring about a peace, 296. His reception of the prince of Conde after he left France, 372. Treaty of a truce for twelve years between him and the States-general, with the treaty of mediation of the kings of France and England, 382. He supports the interest of the prince of Epernon out of regard to Sully, 384. The letter which he wrote Henry IV. upon his journey into Cleves, and Henry's answer to this letter, 423. His motives for the little precaution he took against Henry's great design, 204. Sends an embassy into France upon the death of Henry IV. x. 68. Permits the troops of the confederate princes for the great design to pass through his dominions, 159. See *Cleves*, *Political Design*, and the other names mentioned in this article.
- Archdukes and Archduchesses*. Prince and princesses of that name. See *Austria*.
- Archpriest*. Established in England by the pope. The cause of great troubles, iii. 145. See *Clement VIII*, *James I.* and *Jesuits*.
- Ardenbourg*. The archduke Albert fails in his attempt upon this place, iii. 339.
- Andres*. Taken by the Spaniards, ii. 58.
- Artemberg*. (John de Ligne, count of) Ambassador from the arch-duke to king James, iii. 94. Cabals in London, 98. Audience refused him by the king of England till Sully had his, 114. Compliments and presents which Sully and he make each other, 120. King James complains of his conduct, 127. Errors he is guilty of in his negotiation, 152. Goes to Windsor, 190. The king delays giving him his second audience, 194, 196. Continues to cabal at London, *ibid*.
- Argelets*. From whence called, i. 109.
- Argentan*. The duke of Montpensier takes this city for the king, and defeats the Gaultieres there, ii. 188. See *Montpensier*, *League*.
- Argentier* (L') One of the farmers of the revenue, ii. 135.
- Argentan*. Henry IV. dislodges the troops of the League from this place, i. 163.
- Argouges*. (Florent d') Treasurer of the queen's household, iii. 27. Brings a complaint to Sully, which that minister refuses to sign, 1238.
- Ariat*. (N. d') Succours the inhabitants of Villemur against the forces of the League, i. 272. See *Joyeuse*, *Villemur*.
- Arlicux*,

I N D E X

- Arlicux.* Monsieur attacks this passage. Sully takes some prisoners there, i. 82. See *Anjou*, Sully.
- Armagnac.* (County of) Erected into a presidial, ii. 164. Law-Yut lost by Henry IV. to the Sieur de Rontrailles for this county, ib.
- Armagnac.* First gentleman of the bedchamber to Henry IV. ii. i. iii. 11.
- Armand.* (Father) A Jesuit, labours successfully for the re-establishment of that society in France, 229, 231.
- Arms.* (Wearing of) prohibited, iii. 199.
- Arna-le-Duc.* (Encounter of) In which the protestants have the advantage, i. 3. Henry's discourse upon this battle, ibid.
- Arnaut.* (The eldest of four brothers) Clerk of the council of finances, ii. 118.
- (The second brother) Secretary to Sully. Marshal Biron's conversation with him upon the scaffold, iii. 26. Informations given him by a canon of Canterbury upon the intrigues of Spain in London, 95. Mary of Medicis makes him a member of her privy council, v. 21. Sully's resentment against him, 23. Sully sends him to Conchini to make him some compliments in his name: what passed upon this occasion, 166. Favours bestowed upon him by the queen regent, 77. She makes him intendant of the finances. Sully's advice to him, 91.
- (The third brother) Colonel. Advice given him by Sully, 91.
- (The fourth brother) Treasurer of France, and overseer of the highways, makes his court to Conchini, v. 40. Advice given him by Sully, 91.
- Arnes.* (N. d.) A protestant gentleman, escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29.
- Aro.* The protestant party of the Grisons hold an assembly there, iii. 256.
- Arpentis.* (Lewis Du Bois des) Governor of Touraine, i. 105. Services which Sully receives from him, 112.
- Arques.* (Battle of) i. 180.
- Arquin.* See *Montigny*.
- (Antony d') Commandant of the citadel of Metz, iii. 64.
- Arragon.* (Admiral of) Assists for the king of Spain at the publication of the peace of Vervins at Paris, ii. 195. Commands the Spanish army in Flanders, 254. Unable to succour Grave, iii. 57.
- Arras.* (Sully's ancestors have the title of protection of the church of) i. 6. Marshal Biron the cause that the attempt

INDEX.

- attempt upon this place failed, ii. 73. Henry resolves to besiege it in form, 74. The taking of Amiens by the Spaniards obliges him to lay aside this design, 136.
- Arrets.* Edicts and resolutions upon the finances, war, politics, and commerce, &c. See each of these articles.
- Arscot.* (Duke of) Assists at the publication of the peace of Vervins at Paris, ii. 195.
- Arsenal of Paris.* The duke of Sully resides there, ii. 224. Repairs it, 297. Receives the king and queen there, 350. Interlude presented there, iii. 1. Works carried on by Sully, 327. and in the other arsenals of the kingdom, iv. 9. He establishes a school for military exercises, 93. Running at the ring, Henry's frequent visits there, 182. and following. See *Henry IV. Sully.* A large hall and amphitheatre built there by Sully for theatrical representations, 236. He entertains and lodges Henry there, who goes frequently to visit him, 333.
- Arsen.* Deputy to the duke of Bouillon in the affair of Sedan, iv. 127.
- Artois.* (Counts of) The sovereignty of the earldom of St. Paul contested for by them and the counts of Bologna, iii. 361. See *Saint Paul.*
- Arts.* A scheme for the improvement of them, iv. 363. See *Cabinet of State.*
- Arundel.* (Palace of) Sully lodged there during his embassy to London, iii. 101.
- Ascoly.* (Prince of) Commands the Spanish troops in Champagne, i. 220. Suffers Noyon to be taken, *ibid.*
- Asia.* Designs of Charles V. of Philip II. and of the house of Austria, upon this quarter of the globe, and the obstacles they meet with. Part of the great design of Henry IV. relating to that part of the world. See *Political designs.*
- Astrology and Astrologers.* An adventure of the duke of Sully with an astrologer, ii. 78, 80. The science of astrology very much cultivated in the age of Henry IV. 269. This prince makes La-Riviere calculate the Dauphine's nativity, 377. See *Henry, Sully, La Brasse, &c.*
- Atichy.* Member of the new council of finances, i. 173.
- Avantigny.* A protestant officer. Monsieur withdraws his confidence from him, i. 86—123. Present at the combat of Saveuse, 168. At the battle of Arques, 180.
- Aubagnac.* Agent to the duke of Bouillon, iv. 79.
- Aubepine.* (Charles de l') Marquis of Chateau-neuf. Refused the office of grand master of the ordnance, ii. 100. Called

INDEX.

- Called to the council to deliberate upon the affair of recalling the Jesuits, iii. 228. Upon the re-establishment of the public revenue, 323. Upon the affairs of the United Provinces, iv. 199. Appointed by Henry one of the regents, 203. Admitted by Mary of Medicis into her ordinary council, v. 2.
- Aubeterre*. (N. d') Slanders raised upon account of Sully's friendship for him, iii. 402.
- Aubigné*. (Theodore Agrippa d') Ill affected to the party of Henry IV. i. 101. — ii. 151. The methods used by him to raise an insurrection among the protestants, 175. Observes Sully's conduct in his journey into Poitou, 1. Lays the foundation of a protestant republic in France, 192, 193.
- Aubigny*. (Father) A Jesuit. See *Jesuit, Parricide, Henry*.
- Aubin*, (Saint) Agent to the duke of Bouillon, iii. 39.
- Augustus*. The conformity between the reign of Henry IV. and his, iv. 247.
- Augustins*. (Order of) instituted, iii. 213.
- Avias*. (Father) Mentioned in a letter of father Cotton's, iv. 316.
- Avignon*. A dispute concerning the bridge of that city, between the Pope and the king of France, terminated in favour of the king, iii. 358.
- Avila*. (D. John Alvares) Admiral of Spain, killed in a naval fight with the Dutch, ii. 308, 309.
- Aumale*. (Battle of) i. 239. Prince of Parma's speech upon the battle, 245.
- Aumale*. (Charles de Lorraine, duke of) Assists the leagues, i. 178. Narrowly escapes being taken prisoner by Sully, 188. Defeated before Noyon, 219, 220. His wife treats with Sully about his return to the king's party, 360. Serves the Spaniards in Flanders, iii. 69.
- Aumale*. (Claude de Lorraine, duke of) A stem of the house of Guise, i. 12.
- Aumale*. (Claude de Lorraine, chevalier d') Fights for the league at Ivry, i. 194. Is killed at the attack of St. Dennis, 264.
- Aumale*. (Mary de Lorraine, duchess of) treats with Sully about her husband's returning to the king, i. 360.
- Aumont*. (John d') Marshal of France, i. 105. Takes an oath of fidelity to Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. 176. Surprises Meulan, *ibid*. Attacks the suburbs of Saint-Germain, 186. The victory of Ivry partly owing to his valour, 154. Greatly caressed by Henry, 199.
- Con-

Confers with the king about his conversion, 319. His
 exploits in Brittany, 319. His death, *ibid.*
Anna. (Defeat of the foreign troops at) Accounted for,
 149.
Aurely. A gentleman attached to the duke of Anjou, 143.
Auffonville. See *George (Saint)*.
Austria. (House of) The author's sentiments of its origin,
 i. 4. From whence it descended. Distinction be-
 tween the original and the second house of Austria.
 Names of the several princes of this house: errors in all
 these respects rectified, *ibid.* See *Habsburg*. Estates
 brought into the house of Austria by that of Bethune,
 ii. 91. That house hated by the protestants of the north,
 iii. 110. The complaints of king James against it,
 and the project concerted between him and Sully to
 humble it, 141. Countries subject to it, *ibid.* See *Charles*
V. Philip II. The necessity and means of humbling it,
 168. Sully the first contriver of this scheme, 244.
 Strengthened by its alliances, 349. Its designs of acquir-
 ing universal monarchy, iv. 110. Its first advance-
 ment, origin, and great successes, 112. Henry IV. and
 Sully think of means to put a stop to them, *ibid.* Alli-
 ance of the house of Bethune with the house of
 Austria, iv. 391. See *Bethune, Cœury*. Pre-eminence
 of the house of Bourbon over the house of Austria, 392.
 See *Bourbon*. How it got possession of the earldom of
 Guelders, 396. Death of the duke of Cleves, and the
 succession of his dominions; reasons for endeavouring to
 set it aside, 400. See *Political design, Cleves, Elizabeth*.
 States and princes in Europe opposing the house of Au-
 stria on this occasion, 194. Conspiracy against the life
 of Henry IV. in which it is concerned, 204, 205. See
Spain, Henry, Parricide, &c. Suffers Juliers to be taken,
 and the succession of Cleves to be divided, 273. The
 view of the grand design of Henry IV. in regard to it,
 337. Just subjects of complaint for all Europe against it,
 352. Conjectures on what measures it would have taken
 with respect to the grand design, and what would have
 been the consequence of it, 355. See *Political design,*
Spain, Rodolph.
Austria. (Dutchy of) See *Habsbourg, Austria* (Albert and
Ravul of).
 (Albert of). See *Habsbourg and Austria* (House of).
 (Albert, cardinal and arch-duke of). See *Arch-*
duke, Low Countries.

Austria

I N D E X

- Austria.* (Andrew, cardinal of) Lieutenant-general in Flanders till the arrival of the arch-duke, *ii.* 254.
- (Anna Maria Mauricetta of). See *Spain* (children of).
- (Catherine of). By her marrying into the house of Bethune, it became allied to the house of Austria, 175.
- (Don Carlos of). See *Charles, Spain, Philip II.*
- (Charles IV. of). See *Emperor.*
- (Charles of) Marquis of Burgaw. See *Burgaw, Cleves.*
- (Claire Eugenie of). See *Spain* (Children of).
- (Ernest, arch-duke of). See *Ernest.*
- (Ferdinand of). See *Ferdinand, Emperors.*
- (Ferdinand, arch-duke of) beaten before *Ganise*, *ii.* 398.
- (Frederic III. of). See *Emperors, Frederick.*
- (D. John of). See *John* (Don).
- (Isabella of). See *Spain* (Children of).
- (Leopold, arch-duke of). See *Leopold.*
- (Margaret of) Arch-duchess of Grätz, marries Philip III. *ii.* 353. Passes by Marfeilles, 254. See *Philip II. Philip III.*
- (Mary of) Marries William, duke of Juliers, *iv.* 400. See *Cleves.*
- (Matthias, arch-duke of). See *Matthias.*
- (Maximilian I. and II. of). See *Maximilian, Emperors.*
- (Rodolph, or Raoul of). See *Habsbourg, Austria.* (House of)
- (Rodolph of) Emperor. See *Rodolph.*
- Autun.* Taken by marshal Biron, *ii.* 38.
- Auvergne.* Account of Henry IV's journey to that province, *iv.* 77. See *Henry IV. Bouillon. Rebels.*
- (Charles of Valois, count of) Present at the battle of Arques, *i.* 181. Joins with the seditions, *ii.* 144. Sully watches and disconcerts his designs, *ibid.* He traverses Henry's amour with his sister, *ii.* 289. See *Verneuil.* (Marchioness of). His correspondence with Spain, 365. Signs an association with Bouillon and Biron, 302. Incites the people to mutiny against Henry IV. 392. Waits for an opportunity of seizing Saint Flour, 393. The resolution of arresting him taken at Blois, *iii.* 2. He is arrested, 21. Henry grants him his life, but imprisons him, 32. He is afterwards restored

I N D E X.

stored to liberty, 32. Henry's motives for acting thus, 33. Auvergne again betrays the king, 34. His character, *ibid.* Continues his intrigues, 212. Loses his suit against queen Margaret, for the succession to Catharine of Medicis, 281. Engages with Spain in a wicked plot against the state and person of Henry, 289. Demands his pardon of the king, and at the same time proceeds in his conspiracy with Spain, 296. Measures used to arrest him, 299. His fears and irresolution, 300. His letters to and from Sully, 306. How he was arrested, 312. Henry again pardons him: the real and supposed motives for this clemency, 365. He endeavours to escape from the Bastile, 369, 395. See *Entragues*. Favours granted him in prison, *iv.* 310. Involved in the parricide committed by Ravaillac, 229.

B

- B**ABOU de la Bourdaisiere. See *Estrees*, *Sourdis*.
Bacqueville, employed in the affair of Adrienne de Frefnes, *iv.* 146.
Bade. The catholics of the Grison league hold their assembly there, *iii.* 358. See *Grisons*.
 — (Duke of) and de Dourlak. Sully accused of holding criminal correspondences with these princes, *iii.* 402. The share they were to have in the great design, *iii.* 340.
Badefou. See *Saint Genies*.
Badet. (Company of) Used as the forlorn hope at the battle of Ivry, *i.* 193.
Baliol. Kings of Scotland of that family, *iii.* 271.
Bailliwics. Offices to be erected in them in cases of necessity, *v.* 134.
Baionne. The malecontents endeavour to seize upon this place, *ii.* 203.
Balls and feasts at Paris, during the winter of 1597. *ii.* 139.
Balagny. (Lamion Montluc de) Duke of Equillon and he rivals in amours. Is assassinated by the duke. Indignation expressed by Henry IV. and Sully on this assassination, *iv.* 268.
 — (John de Montluc de). Monsieur gives him the government of the castle of Cambray, *i.* 84. Heads the forces of the league, at the battle of Rouen, 237. Made sovereign prince of Cambray, 390. The Spaniards drive him from Cambray, *ii.* 20, 63. Bon-mot of

I N D E X

- of a Spaniard upon this occasion, *ibid.* The sum paid him for coming over to Henry, 227.
- Balbany.* Henry IV. pays a sum of money which he owed him, iv. 161.
- Baltazar.* His attachment to Sully. Memorial which he delivered him upon the battle of Fontaine François, ii. 50.
- Balzac.* See *Entragues*, *Verneuil*.
- Banchi.* (Father Seraphin) Discovers to Brancalion the design of assassinating the king, i. 341.
- Bankruptcy and Bankrupts.* Sully's severity to Jousseau. See *Jousseau*. An edict against fraudulent bankrupts, iv. 357.
- Baptism* of the children of France. An account of preparations for this ceremony, iv. 154. See *Dauphin* and *Children of France*.
- Bar.* (Henry de Lorraine, duke of) His marriage with the princess Catherine opposed by the pope and the clergy of France, ii. 254. See *Princess Catherine*, *Offat*, *Clergy*. Her great expences, iii. 227. Henry and he take measures, after the death of the princess, to secure her effects, 282. Henry proposes to marry him to the princess of Mantua, iv. 13.
- Bar.* Suppression of its officers, ii. 361. Sully complains of the luxury of the gentlemen of the law, iii. 222. Regulation upon the *droit annual*, iv. 340. Reasons for and against this regulation, *ibid.* Abuses to be corrected in it with respect to the judges, advocates, and attorneys, 345.
- Barbary.* Spain designs to invade it, iii. 198.
- Barberini.* The pope's nuncio in France, iv. 18. Employed by Henry in adjusting the differences between Paul V. and the Venetians, and rewarded for his good offices, 143. His praises of Sully, 209.
- Barbin.* One of the counsellors of the queen-regent.
- Barenton.* An engineer sent by Sully to demolish the castle of Usson, iv. 93. See *Margaret de Valois*.
- Barges.* Sully carried in one of them from Gravesend to London, iii. 99. See *Embassy*, *Sully*.
- Barlaymont.* (Count of) Grants a passport to Sully, i. 89.
- Barlaymont.* (Countess of) Refuses her consent to the marriage of mademoiselle de Melun with the marquis of Cœuvres, when desired by Henry IV. iii. 414.
- Barnard.* (Nuns of the order of) Instituted, ii. 258. The marchioness of Belisle enters into this order, ii. 287.

I N D E X.

- Barneveldt.** (John Olden de) principal deputy of the United Provinces to James I. The first conversation which he had with Sully at London; his confidence in Sully, and the measures which they take together, iii. 116, and following. Gives advice of the pretended union of Spain and England against France, 136. Disgusted with the English ministers, 155. His conference with Sully upon this subject, in which he intrusts him with the private resolutions of the States-General, 156. His conference with Sully and the English ministers, in which nothing is resolved upon, 157, 159. See *Cecil*. A quarrel between him and the prince of Orange, occasioned by the truce, iv. 171.
- Barault.** (Emerick Gobier de) Attempts to enforce the observation of the treaties, iii. 200. Endeavours to find out the treachery of La Hôte, 245. An instance of his boldness and resolution, *ibid*. Rasis informs him of the treason of La Hôte, 246, 248. Gives advice to Henry IV. 251. Instructions given him by Sully, iv. 197.
- Barre.** (Madame de la) Gives bad counsel to the princess Catherine against Sully, ii. 88—97.
- Barreaux.** (Des) One of the members of the new council of finances, ii. 42. He supports the financiers, who had been guilty of unjust practices, 109.
- Barriere, or Barre.** (Peter) His plot to assassinate Henry IV. how discovered and punished, i. 341. Particulars relating to this plot: The Jesuits justified, 342.
- Bartholomew.** (Massacre of Saint) Scheme of this massacre, i. 25. Observations upon it, *ibid*. The manner in which it was executed. How Henry IV. the prince of Conde, and Sully preserved their lives, 34. Reflections upon this action, 31. Names of those who were massacred, and other particulars, 34.
- Bassignac or Vassignac.** (Gideon de) A protestant gentleman, cabals against Henry at the siege of Amiens, ii. 151. Lieutenant and agent for the duke of Bouillon, iv. 78.
- Baste.** (George) General of the imperial troops in Transilvania, defeats Vaivodes, Battory, and Michael, ii. 398. A noble action of this general, iii. 61.
- Bastelica.** See *Ornano*.
- Bastile.** Sully made governor of it, ii. 396. Henry IV. lays up his treasures there; regulation upon this occasion, iii. 316.
- Battles and encounters** at Jarnac, at Arna-le-duc, at Leucon, at Loudun, at Lепанthe, at Saint-Quintin, at Meaux;

I N D E X.

- Meaux; before Beaumont, at Coutras, Saveuse, Arques, Dieppe, and Pollet, Ivry, Issouire; at the passage of Aine; against the Gautieres. See *Montpensier*. Of Aumale. See all these names. Historians seldom agree in the account they give of battles, i. 245. Encounters and skirmishes before Rouen, 250—254. See *Parma*. Of Villemur, of Villers Coterets, before Dourlens, at Fontaine-Françoise, at Nieuport. Naval battle gained by the Dutch against the Spaniards. See *Spain*, the *Low Countries*. See also *Skirmishes*, *Sieges*, and the other names mentioned in this article.
- Battori*. Vaivode of Transilvania, defeated by George Basse, ii. 398. He continues the war against the Emperor, iii. 60.
- Battarnai*. (Claude de). See *Coligny*.
- Bavaria*. (Elector of) Project to make him Emperor, iv. 112.
- Baudelouis*. (Yvon) Takes a Spanish ship, which Henry IV. causes to be restored, iv. 25.
- Baudouin*, earl of Flanders. See *Flanders*.
- Baugy*. Agent to Henry IV. for the management of the grand design, v. 146.
- (Lands of). Awarded to Sully. He visits them ii. 361.
- Baumevielle*. The advice he gave to Henry IV. concerning the duke of Bouillon, iv. 103, 226.
- Baizelle*. (Saint) Taken by the duke of Maienne, i. 117.
- Bearn*. The mass abolished there. See *Navarre*. The mass restored; afterwards the Jesuits, iv. 282. The quarrel with Spain relating to its boundaries terminated to the satisfaction of Henry, 301.
- Beaucaire*. See *Martigues*.
- Beaudiner*. (Galliot de Crussol de). A protestant gentleman, i. 24. Killed at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 31.
- Beaufort*. (Duchess of). See *Estrees* (Gabriel d').
- Enemy to Sully at court, iii. 399.
- Beaugrard*. Of great use to Sully at the taking of Loviers, i. 223, 224.
- Beaugency*. One of the five cities which continued faithful to Henry III. i. 159. Granted to Henry IV. as a place of security and passage, 162.
- Beaulieu*. (Convent of) Where is delivered the edict of sixty-three articles, i. 48. See *Peace*, *Anjou*.

I N D E X.

Beaulieu. Henry IV. refuses him the post of lieutenant de roi of Saint John d'Angely, iv. 151.

Beaulieu-rufe. See *Rufe*.

Beaumont. (Christophier de Harlay, count of) Ambassador from France at London, gives advice of the death of Elizabeth, iii. 76. King James is prejudiced against him, 90. He is of great service to Sully in his embassy, 96. Sully lodges with him, 101. Denies his request in favour of Combaut, 103. He dissuades Sully from appearing in mourning at his audience of the king of England, 120. Admitted to dine at the table with king James, 153. His eulogium upon Sully's embassy 179. He continues to give advice of the state of affairs in England after the return of Sully. 190. His praises of Sully, 192. Other important advices sent by him from London, 194. He exerts himself in the affair of the prohibition of commerce with Spain, 335. As likewise in the treaty between England and Spain, 344. He brings with him to France letters from king James to Henry IV. and Sully, and gives an account of his negotiation, iv. 25. He praises the king of England, 27.

Beaune. (Inhabitants of) Rise against the duke of Maienne, and drive him from thence, ii. 14.

Beaune. (Renard or Bernard de) of Semblançai. Archbishop of Brouges, receives the abjuration of Henry IV. i. 333.

Beaupre. (Saint-Germain de) One of the heads of the disaffected protestants, i. 101. Made governor of Argenton for Henry IV. 163. His intrigues during the siege of Amiens, ii. 151. He endeavours to get suppressed (in the synod of Gap) the tenet of the Pope's being Antichrist, iii. 213. He opposes Henry's enterprise upon Sedan, iv. 116.

Beauvais. (N. de) Governor to Henry IV. persuades the queen of Navarre and the protestant chiefs to go to Paris, i. 19. He is killed at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 31. A duel between his son and Uffieu, 75.

Beauvais-La-Noë. (John de La-Fin de) Deputed by the protestants to Charles IX. i. 15. He escapes the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 31. He is partly the cause of the defeat at Auneau, 149, 150.

Beauvais. See *Tremblecourt*.

Beauville. First president of the chamber of accounts, iv. 100.

I N D E X.

- Beauvoir.* The count of Garnache is made prisoner there by his mother, i. 127.
- Bec.* (N. du) Archbishop of Rheims, ii. 20.
- Beholens, or Begole.* A protestant officer, attached to Henry IV. i. 51.
- Bell.* (John Le-) A Jesuit. Involved in the process of Chatel, ii. 37.
- Belgic Republic.* Establishment of this republic in the grand design, v. 142.
- Belin.* (Francis Faudois d'Averton de Serillac, count of) governor of Paris for the League, made prisoner by Henry IV. at Arques, i. 181. Employs himself usefully for Henry in the affair of his conversion, 319. He is deputed by the catholics to Henry 329. Another deputation to demand a truce, 347. He is inclined to surrender Paris to Henry, upon which the duke of Maienne deprives him of the government of that city, 371. A decree of parliament highly honourable to him, *ibid.* He is deprived of his places for surrendring Ardres, ii. 58.
- Belin.* (Geoffroi de Saint) Bishop of Poitiers, his letters in justification of Sully, in the affair of the college of Poitiers, iii. 373.
- Bellanglise.* An officer in the army of the Duke D'Aumale, i. 220.
- Bellebranche.* Mentioned in a letter from father Cotton, iv. 316.
- Bellefond.* Defeated at the head of the garrison of Soissons, ii. 38. The government of Caen given him by Henry IV. iii. 212.
- Bellegarde.* (Roger de Saint-Larry, duke of) Grand-ecuyer of France, acknowledges Henry IV. for king after the death of Henry III. i. 174. Present at the battle of Arques, 181. Was one of the favourites of Henry III. ii. 15, 144. He is refused the honour of marrying Mary de Medicis, by proxy for the king, 314. His familiarity with Henry IV. iii. 11. Is made lieutenant for the Dauphin in Burgundy, 28. Is made superintendent of the mines, 54. Goes to his government of Burgundy, 68. His friendship for Sully, 296. He is involved in the intrigues at court, 395. Called to the council upon the expedition to Sedan, iv. 123. Protects the Jesuits, 317. Conchini jealous of him, v. 59. His quarrels with the nobles and ministers, 67.
- Bellemaniere.* His company defeated by Henry IV. i. 135.

I N D E X.

- Bellengreville.* (Joachim de) Made governor of Meulan, i. 177. Assists in defending Mante, 222—226.
- Belles-Lettres.* (Establishment for the improvement of) by Henry IV. ii. 199.
- Bellezuns.* Fight for Henry IV. at Coutras, i. 131.
- Bellieuvre.* (Pomponne de) Labours to convert Henry, i. 319. Opposes the malecontents. Admitted into the council of finances, ii. 31. Provides for the security of Picardy, 37. Signs the peace of Vervins, and assists at its publication at Brussels, 193. Manages with Sillery, all domestic affairs, 221. Is made chancellor, and the seals delivered to him, 268. Made one of the commissioners for the king's marriage, 291. As likewise in the affair of the marquifate of Saluces, 299. Opposes Sully's reasons for a war in Savoy. Takes La-Fin's deposition against marshal Biron, 396. Advises Henry to arrest the heads of the disaffected party, iii. 7, 39. Assists at the council when Sully received the instructions for his embassy to London, 87. His sentiments upon recalling the jesuits, 231. Sully endeavours to persuade him to tolerate different religions, 256. He solicits a cardinal's hat for M. de Villars and de Marquemont, 258. His advice to Henry IV. concerning the marchioness of Verneuil, 311. Made one of the commissioners for the prohibition of commerce with Spain, 333. As likewise for the purchase of the earldom of St. Paul. Henry takes the seals from him; his infirmities, iv. 176. Particular circumstances relating to him: his eulogium, *ibid.* Summoned to the council upon the affairs of Flanders: his death, 282.
- Bellisle.* (Antoinette de Orleans de Longueville, marchioness of) Takes the habit of a nun of the order of Saint Barnard: cause of her retreat: her eulogium, ii. 282.
- (Charles de Gondy, marquis of). See the above article.
- Bellozane.* (John Touchard, abbot of) One of the chiefs of the third party, i. 284. Sully treats with him, 301, 302.
- Bellujon.* Proposed for deputy-general of the protestants in the assembly of Châtelleraut, iv. 54. but rejected, 66. Employed by Henry IV. in the affair of Orange and Blaccons, 70.
- Belly.* Chancellor of Savoy, commissioner in the affair of the marquifate of Saluces, ii. 301.
- Benefices.* Henry IV. proposes to reform the abuses in them iv. 336. See *Clergy, Cabinet of State, Abbays.*

Bene-

I N D E X.

- Beuehart.* (James de Maillé, de) Governor of Vendôme, i. 109.
- Benon.* (Forest of) Sully defeats in this place a squadron of the duke of Joyeuse's army, i. 134.
- Berault.* A protestant minister: his intrigues at Chatelleraut rendered ineffectual by Sully, iv. 66.
- Berg.* Earldom and earls of this name, dispute for its succession, iv. 277. See *Cleves*.
- Bergen-op-zoom.* Taken and lost again by Du Terrail, iv. 24.
- Bergerac.* Treaty made with that city. See *Peace of 1577*. Services performed by this city to Henry IV. iii. 216.
- Beringhen.* (Peter de) Henry IV. confides to him the projects of the league and of the third party discovered by the papers intercepted by Sully, i. 285. His scheme for taking La-Fere, ii. 72. He is of service to Sully upon his entering into the council of the finances, 104. Made comptroller of mines, iii. 306.
- Bernet.* (Du) King's advocate in the parliament of Bourdeaux, iv. 229.
- Berniers.* Counsellor of the parliament of Rouen for the king, ii. 82.
- Berny.* (Mathieu Brulart, de) His negociations in Flanders, iv. 171. He supports the interest of the prince of D'Epinoy with the archduke, 387.
- Berry.* Regulations for the maréchaussées of this province, iv. 217.
- Bersot.* One of Sully's enemies at court, iii. 399.
- Bertauville.* Proposed for one of the deputies for the city of Pons, iv. 187.
- Berthier.* Agent for the clergy. His obstinate endeavours to procure an amendment of the edict of Nantz, ii. 263.
- Bertichere.* (La) Assists the duke of Sully at the attack of Cahors, i. 67. Cabals for the protestants during the siege of Amiens, ii. 51.
- Berton.* See *Grillon*.
- Bessais.* His intrigues with the protestant party, ii. 151.
- Besses.* A disaffected protestant, iii. 291.
- Bethune.* A city, and first barony of the earldom of Artois, i. 6.
- (House of) Its origin: Alliances with the house of Bourbon, Austria, and the principal houses of Europe; and the great men it has produced, i. 6. Errors upon this subject rectified, 5. Estates brought by this house into that of Austria, ii. 91. Its alliances with the house

I N D E X.

- of Bourbon and Luxembourg, 171. Praises bestowed upon it by Henry IV. 382. Descended from the counts of Flanders, iv. 19. Its alliances with the houses of Austria and Coucy, 391.
- Bethune.* Several persons of this name, ancestors to the duke of Sully, i. 4.
- (Alpin de). See *Alpin* (Saint).
 - (Antoine de) His actions, i. 6.
 - (Cæsar de) Second son of the duke of Sully, v. 103. The share which Sully gives him of his estate: His death, 172.
 - (Charles de). See *Rosny* (Francis de Béthune de).
 - (Coësne, or Conon de) His great actions. Made regent of the empire of Constantinople, i. 6.
 - (Francis de). See *Rosny* and *Orval*.
 - (Florestan de) Governor of Montflantquin, i. 117.
 - (Jacqueline de) Bishop of Cambrai, i. 6.
 - (James de) Archbishop of Glasgow. See *Glasgow*.
 - (John de) Abbot of Anchin, i. 6.
 - (John de) Head of the branch from whence the duke of Sully descended, i. 7, 8. Allied with the house of Austria by that of Coucy, iv. 391.
 - (John de) Grandfather to the duke of Sully. His alliances, i. 8.
 - (John de) Brother of the duke of Sully. See *Rosny*.
 - (Lewis de). See *Mirepoix* (Marquis of).
 - (Margaret de). See *Roban* (Duchess of).
 - (Maximilian de). See *Sully* (Duke of).
 - (Maximilian II. de) Marquis of Rosny. See *Rosny*.
 - (Maximilian III. Francis of) Prince of Henrichemont. See *Henrichemont*.
 - (Philip de) The count of Bethune, brother of the duke of Sully. One of the favourites of Henry III. i. 8. Disgraced, 93. Disconcerts the enterprize of the duke of Maienne upon Loudun, 221. Sent ambassador to Rome, ii. 382. Henry refuses to give him the post, formerly enjoyed by the baron de Lux, iii. 413. He gives advice of the death of Clement VIII. iv. 13. Praised for his conduct in Italy, and honours conferred upon him by the Pope, 16. Henry IV. admits him into his council, 185. He is again sent ambassador into Italy, 202. Is deputed by the queen-regent to Sully, v. 14. His advice to Sully after Henry's death: Endeavours

I N D E X.

- Endeavours to persuade him not to resign his employments, 37. Sully resigns to him the abbey of Jard, 104.
- Bethune.* (Robert de) Ancestors of Sully, who bore this name; and their actions, i. 6.
- (Solomon de) Brother of the duke of Sully, one of the favourites of Henry III. i. 8. Disgraced, 93. He turns roman catholic, ib. Sully obliges him to open the gates of the castle of Rosny to him, 169. Is made governor of Mante, 205. Prevents this place from being taken by the duke of Maienne, 220. His death, ii. 156.
- (N. de) Cousin of the duke of Sully, iv. 349.
- Beuil.* (Jacqueline de). See *Moret* (Countess of).
- Beuillaque.* (Marquis of) Envoy from the grand duke of Tuscany. Gratuities bestowed upon him by Henry IV. iv. 209.
- Beyne*, or *Bays*. Defeats a body of troops belonging to the League, ii. 38.
- Beza.* (Theodore de) Accused of being concerned in the assassination of the duke of Guise, i. 12. Makes a speech to Henry IV. at the head of the deputation from Geneva. Their reception from Henry, ii. 341. His death: his esteem of Sully; and the proofs which he gives him of it, iv. 85.
- Beziers.* Designs of the malecontents upon this city, iv. 42.
- (Bishop of) One of the secret council of Mary de Medicis, iii. 248.
- Bicose*, or *Vicose*. Deputed by Henry IV. into the districts, ii. 108. Lieutenant of the highways in Guyenne, iii. 266.
- Bigot.* Agent for the duke of Guise in his treaty with the king, ii. 19.
- Birague.* (René de) Chancellor. Advises the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 27.
- Biron.* (Armand de Gontault, marshal of) Deputed by Charles IX. to the protestants, i. 3. Fortifies himself in the Arsenal during the massacre, 34. Concludes a truce with Henry IV. in Guyenne, 53. Commands the royal army, 70. Attacks Nerac, 73. Endeavours to dissuade the duke of Anjou from the treachery meditated against Antwerp, 86. Submits to Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. 174. His important service upon this occasion, 176. Good council given by him at Arques, 180. He brings forces to his assistance,

I N D E X.

ante, 188. Takes Evreux, *ib.* Contributes to the victory of Ivry. 199. A bon-mot of his to Henry IV. *ib.* He unseasonably attacks the fort St. Catharine at the siege of Rouen, 230. Is accused of having endeavoured to ruin this enterprize, *ib.* Foments a sedition among the roman catholics, 231. An attack in which he fights valiantly, 235. Occasions the raising the siege of Rouen, 246. Henry's respect and consideration for him, *ib.* His malicious and obstinate disposition, 263. His speech to his son, *ib.* His bad advice to Henry, 264. Besieges Epernai, and is there killed, 275. His character and eulogium, *ib.*

Biron. (Charles de Gontault, marshal of) Henry IV. saves his life, i. 211. He defeats a detachment of the duke of Aumale's army, 220. Attacks the prince of Parma's intrenchments, and carries them, 253. Employed in the conversion of Henry IV. 319. Affronted by Grillon, 349. Interested in the treaty with admiral Villars, 364. Made marshal of France, 377. Defeats the grand convoy before Laon, 405. His arrogant and presumptuous boasts, 406. Henry dissatisfied with him, refuses him the government of Laon, 408. He makes Sully watch him carefully, 409. Biron assists the inhabitants of Burgundy to drive out the Duke of Maienne, ii. 14. Takes Beaune, Nuys, Autin, Dijon, 38. Attacks the castle of Dijon and of Talan. Motives of those who persuaded Henry to go into Burgundy, 39. Drives the League from Dijon and Talan, 153. His actions at the battle of Fontain-Françoise, 54. Occasions the loss of Arras, 73. A speech of Henry's in his praise, 165. Made duke and peer of France, and assists at the ratification of the peace at Brussels, 195. His plots in Guyenne, 285. One of the commissioners in the affair of the marquisate of Saluces, 301. Takes the city of Bourg without intending it, 316. Endeavours to destroy Sully in an ambuscade, 319. Gives bad advice to Henry, 337. Informs the duke of Savoy of all that passes in the council and in the army, 338. Has a design to have Sully killed before fort St. Catherine, 340. Confesses to the king his plots in Spain and Savoy, 365. Asks pardon of his majesty: conditions of his treaty with Savoy, 385. Resumes his plots, 387. Henry endeavours to reclaim him by kindness, 388. Sully endeavours likewise, but to no purpose, *ib.* Sent ambassador to England: his imprudent discourse with queen

I N D E X.

- queen Elizabeth, 389. Sent ambassador extraordinary to Switzerland, 391. His character, *ib.* Binds himself in a criminal association with Bouillon and Entragues: renews his intrigues with Spain and Savoy: raises an insurrection: his designs upon the principal cities in France: relies upon La-Fin, who betrays him, 392. Sully mentioned in this cabal, 394. Endeavours made use of to arrest Biron, *iii.* 4. He comes to Fontainebleau, 14. Resists all the counsels of Sully, 17. Arrested, 20. He is tried and beheaded, 24. Particulars of his execution, his character, and his family, 25. In what manner he spoke of Sully, 26. Solicitations of his relations, *ib.* The excesses which he allowed his retinue to commit when in London, the occasion of the hatred that nation discovers towards the French; and the bad treatment Sully's retinue received, 102.
- Bisith.* A noble action of George Baste's at the taking of this place, *iii.* 61.
- Blaccons.* Governor of Orange for the protestants and the prince of Orange. *iv.* 38. Is sacrificed by the intrigues at court to Lefdiguieres, notwithstanding the representations of Sully, 70. See *Orange, Châtelleraut.*
- Blanc,* (Francis Le) The duke of Bouillon's agent at London, *iii.* 119.
- Blancard.* (John de Gontault, de Saint) Biron's advice to him upon the scaffold, *iii.* 26.
- (John de) Steward to the duke of Bouillon, discovers to Henry his secret practices, *iv.* 82.
- Blanchefort,* A saying of Henry IV. upon this house, *iv.* 238.
- Blanchmenil.* (Nicholas Potier, de) President of the parliament of Paris, draws up the process against marshal Biron, *iii.* 23.
- Blavet, or Port Louis.* The Spaniards driven from this place, *ii.* 170.
- Blaye.* Besieged by the marshal de Matignon, who fails in his attempt, *ii.* 99. Marshal Biron endeavours to seize this place, *ii.* 393.
- Blerancourt.* A gentleman in the train of the duke of Sully at London, *iii.* 102.
- Blois.* The states of this city send a deputation to Henry IV. *i.* 58. Duke of Guise murdered here. The views and designs of the state, 157. See *Henry III. Guise, League.* Sully negotiates there a union between the two kings, 160. See *Mornai.* Motives for Henry's journey

I N D E X.

- journey there, ii. 350. A second journey of his to this place, and the reasons for it, iii. 2. Resolutions taken there to arrest the leaders of the male-contents, 3. See *Bouillon*, *Epernon*, *Auvergne*, &c. Henry IV. takes a violent resolution at this place against the queen and her Italian domestics, but is dissuaded from it by Sully, 10. Henry passes through it in his way to Auvergne, iv. 83.
- Blood*. (Princes of) Their plots with the states of Paris, i. 312. See *League*, *States of Paris*. They make a strange proposal to Henry IV. in prejudice of the royal authority, ii. 64. See *Montpensier*. Sully takes from them the farms of the king's revenues; the cause of their hatred to him, 235. They are disgusted at the king's giving the dukes of Mantua precedence of them, iv. 155. Their divisions and quarrels after the death of Henry IV. 269. They pay no regard to Sully's advice, v. 47. Quarrels among them, and with their ministers, 67. Grants which they extort from the queen regent, 76. They all conspire to ruin Sully, 81. They rebel, 84. See upon this article *Bourbon*, *Conde*, *Conty*, *Soissons*, *Montpensier*. See also the *French Lords*, *Seditions*, &c.
- Boderie*. (La) One of the French agents in the United Provinces, iv. 203.
- Bodillon*. Assassinate Chilperic: the reasons, iv. 293.
- Boesse*. One of the king's officers: his courage in the taking of Bourgois, ii. 317. He declares himself in the council for Sully's advice for the expedition of Sedan, iv. 124.
- Bohemia*. The view of the grand design of Henry IV. in regard to this kingdom, v. 134. Accedes to the union, 143. Forces and money to be contributed by this crown, 151. See *Political Design*.
- Bois-Dauphin*. (Urbain de Laval, de) One of the four marshals of France made by the League, i. 307. The sum which he received from Henry IV. by his treaty, ii. 227. Sent ambassador to Vienna, iii. 2.
- Bois-du-Lis*. A protestant officer, i. 121.
- Bois-Rose* (N. de Gouffinel de) The surprising manner in which he made himself master of Feschamp, i. 344. He delivers the fort to the king, 346. His share in the treaty with admiral Villars, 364. His comical adventure with Sully at Louviers, 384.
- Boisset*. Steward of the household to the princess, ii. 93.
- Boisset*.

I N D E X.

- Boiffec.* A protestant gentleman, escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29.
- Boiffiere.* (Christopher de Lanoy, de La) Brings succours to the duke Maienne, but does not arrive till after the battle of Ivry, i. 199. Has some share in the defeat of the duke of Aumale, 223.
- Boiffise.* The French agent with the hereditary Princes of Cleves; iv. 401. Acts usefully in this affair, 412. See *Cleves*. Is sent ambassador to Denmark and Sweden, v. 146.
- Bolduc.* The prince of Orange besieges this place against the advice of Sully, and raises the siege, ii. 363. iii. 72.
- Bonacolfi.* Lord of Mantua, killed by the Gonzagues, iv. 155.
- Bongars.* (James de) The French agent in Germany, ii. 244. Informations given by him, iv. 165. Henry IV. discontinues to employ him. Memorial sent by him to Sully upon the succession and the affairs of Cleves, 401. A bon-mot of. of him, 408. See *Cleves*. Is sent ambassador to Germany, v. 146.
- Boniface.* (Captain) Receives the duke of Sully into fort St. Catherine to treat with admiral Villars, i. 348.
- Bonne.* A saying of Henry IV. upon this house, iv. 238. See *Lefdiguieres*, *Crequy*.
- Bonnefont.* Engineer to the king, iv. 226.
- Bonnet.* (N. de Saint) Receives Sully into his house when he went to treat with admiral Villars, i. 348.
- Bonneval.* (Battle of). See *Saveuse*.
- Bonnevil.* A courtier, in great familiarity with Henry IV. iv. 167.
- Bontemps.* Gives in a deposition relating to the effects of the ducheys of Bar, iii. 229.
- Bontin.* Sully visits his estates in this place, i. 215.
—— (Anne, François) François de Courtenay. See *Courtenai*.
- Boquemare.* President of the parliament of Rouen, well disposed to the king's party, i. 380, 381.
- Borde.* (La) Employed by Henry IV. to discover the intrigue between the count of Sommerive and madame de Moret, and ill used by Sommerive, iv. 264.
- Bordes.* (Des) Proposed at Châtelleraut for the deputy general of the protestant party, and rejected, iv. 63. Employed against the Jesuits by Sully in the affair of Metz, 145.
- Borghese* (Cardinal). See Paul V.

Borgia.

I N D E X.

- Borgia.* (D. Inigo de) Commands the Spanish troops in Flanders, iii. 201.
- Bories.* (Des) Unable to prevent the taking of La-Mothe Saint-Eloy, i. 132.
- Born.* (John de Durefort de) Commands the artillery at the siege of Rouen, i. 229. At the siege of Laon, 393. Lieutenant-general of the ordnance, ii. 296.
- Boskay.* Obliges the emperor to grant him the lordship of Transilvania, iv. 207. See *Rodolphus*.
- Botheon.* (William de Gadagne de) Assists at the ratification of the peace of Vervins for the duke of Savoy, ii. 196.
- Bouc.* (La-Tour de) A fort purchased by Henry IV. from the duke of Mercœur, iv. 12.
- Boucalt.* President of the court of aides in Montpellier, iii. 285.
- Bouchage.* (Count of). See *Joyeuse* (Henry de).
- Bouchavane.* (N. de Bayancourt de) A protestant lord, i. 24. Charles IX. pardons him, 31.
- Boubier.* Treasurer of the Bastile, v. 154.
- Bouillon.* (Principality of) given to the duke of Bouillon by his wife, ii. 2. See *Bouillon* (duke of). *Bouillon* (duchess of). *Sedan.* Bouillon, upon this account, claims a right to precede the dukes and peers of France, but is not regarded, iv. 155.
- (Charlotte de La-Mark, duchess of). Marries the viscount of Turenne; political reasons for this match, i. 225. Her death; the duke of Bouillon informs Henry of it, ii. 2. His opinion of her will, 10.
- (William-Robert de La-Mark, duke of). See *Marck.* (La-)
- (Henry de La-Tour d'Auvergne, viscount of Turenne, duke of). Enters into the party of the king of Navarre, i. 51. His hatred of Sully, ib. Is challenged to fight by the prince of Condé, 59. He fights with him, 64. With Duras, ib. Reflections upon this duel, ib. He disconcerts the designs of the prince of Condé, 132. Is taken prisoner before Cambray, 82. Forms a project for establishing a protestant republic in France, 98. His character, ib. Commands a body of troops in Guyenne, 116. His troops behave ill in the battle of Coutras, 141. His designs after this battle, 145. He fails in his attempt upon Sarlat, 146. Takes Castillon, 151. Designs to dismember the monarchy

I N D E X.

narchy, 160. Raises the German horse, 225. Marries mademoiselle de Bouillon, *ib.* Political reasons for this marriage, *ib.* See *Marck* (La). Henry IV. uses the foreign forces brought by him at the siege of Rouen, 227. Raises a mutiny amongst the German forces, 230. Prevents the pursuit of the duke of Parma, after he had passed the Seine, 269. Takes Dun and Stenia, and defeats the *sieur de la Guerche*, 266. His ingratitude to Henry IV. *ii.* 1. Informs the king of the death of his wife, 2. Motives which induced Henry to send Sully to him, *ib.* He endeavours to entrap Sully in a conversation they have together, 4. His intrigues and political projects, 6. His character and maxims, *ib.* Refuses to let Sully peruse the duchess's will, 8. Opinion upon the donations in it, 10. His designs in advising a war against Spain, 35. Commands the forces in Picardie, 41. His jealousy of the duke of Nevers, the occasion of the misfortunes of this campaign, 46. His justification, *ib.* Defeated before Dourlens, 48. Different opinions upon his conduct, *ib.* Justifies himself badly to the king, 66. Sent ambassador to London, 67. The object of his intrigues during the siege of Amiens, 151, 152. Endeavours to raise an insurrection among the protestants in Brittany, 177. Reproached by Henry IV, 182. The subtle article which he gets inserted in the edict of Nantz, and the purpose of it, 262. His hatred to Sully upon account of suppressing this article, 266. He cabals with the lords of the kingdom, 345. And with Spain, 361. His association with marshal Biron and the count of Auvergne, 365. Design of arresting him: he artfully eludes Henry's proposal for continuing at court, *iii.* 4. His letters to the king and Sully upon this subject, 37—39. He employs the elector Palatine to solicit Henry for him, but to no purpose, 73. Sully is charged to make the king of England acquainted with his practices, 90. Whom he wants to gain over to his interest, 119. Continuation of his intrigues at the court of the Palatinate, at London, and in the protestant assemblies in France, 260. And with Lesdiguières, 287. He fixes himself at the court of the elector Palatine, 293. His deputies excluded from the assembly of Châtelleraut, *iv.* 54, 55. Sully renders ineffectual his endeavours to establish a protestant republic in France, 61. Henry IV. disconcerts them, by seizing his cities, 77. And designs likewise to take Sedan,

I N D E X.

Sedan, 113. Artifices of the courtiers to ward off the blow, 115. Letters betwixt Sully and him upon this subject, 119. All the courtiers interest themselves for him, 123. Sully makes public his behaviour to the king, 125. His hatred to this minister, 127. Other artifices to prevent Henry from approaching Sedan, 128. He at last submits, and treats with Villeroi, 131. Articles of the surrender of Sedan, 133. The gracious reception he meets with from Henry, upon his paying homage, 135, 137. He attends this prince to Paris, 140. Insults upon precedency with the dukes and peers, 155. Henry restores Sedan to him, and withdraws his garrison, 234. He renews his intrigues, 273. Henry IV. opposes his taking the title of sovereign lord of Sedan, 387. He returns to France after the death of Henry the Great, and is admitted into the council of Mary of Medicis, v. 22. He disengages the prince of Condé from Sully, whom he seeks to ruin, 50. Opposes Sully's advice, with regard to the armament of Cleves, 33. Mutual services between him and Conchini, 49. A quarrel between him and Sully in full council, 64. Gratuities which he procures from the queen regent, 77. The hatred he discovers against Sully in the assembly of Châtelleraut, 162.

Bouillon. (Robert de La-Mark, duke of). See *Mark* (La).
 ——— (Duchefs of). Is in Sedan when Henry IV. went to besiege it, iv. 131.

——— (Mademoiselle de) Proposed for a wife for the marquis of Rosny, iv. 238. Henry IV. prevents Sully from accepting of it, 239.

Boulaye. (Charles Echalard de La-) Governor of Fontenai for the king's party, i. 256. Attends Henry IV. into Franche-Comté, ii. 56. His son marries mademoiselle de Marais, daughter-in-law to Sully: presents given, and favours refused him by Henry IV. iii. 412.

Boulogne. A conference in this city between the Spaniards and the English, which produces nothing, ii. 188.

Boulogne. (Counts of) Lords paramount of the earldom of St. Paul, with the counts d'Artois, iii. 362.

Bourbon. (House of) Its great appanages, i. 8. Estates carried into this house by the house of Bethune, ii. 91. The alliance of the house of Rohan with it, 97. The necessity and means of uniting it with the house of Stuart, to humble the house of Austria. See *Political Designs*. Re-union of all these estates in the house of

I N D E X.

of France, iv. 211. Henry IV. forbids Sully to marry his son into the house of Bourbon, 239. See *Rosny*.

Bourbon-Condé. See *Condé*.

Bourbon-Conté. See *Conté*.

Bourbon-France. See *France*.

Bourbon-Montpensier. See *Montpensier*.

Bourbon-Rubenpré. See *Rubenpré*.

Bourbon-Saiffon. See *Saiffon*.

Bourbon (Alexander de). Second son of Henry IV. and the duchess of Beaufort, legitimated, ii. 202. Is baptized as a son of France, and called Monsieur, 204. Is received into the order of the knights of Malta, iii. 362. See *Estrees*, Henry IV. Sully.

—— (Antony de). King of Navarre. See *Navarre*.

—— (Catherine-Henrietta de). Daughter of Henry IV. and the duchess of Beaufort, legitimated, ii. 272. See *Estrees*. Henry designs to marry her to the marquis of Rosny, iv. 238. But afterwards marries her to the son of the Constable, 246. Presents which he makes her, 357.

—— (Charles, first cardinal de). Opposes the marriage of the prince of Navarre with Margaret de Valois, i. 27. See *Henry IV.* *Margaret*. The conference with Catherine of Medicis after the day of the barricades, 157. Is put in prison at the death of the Guises: he reproaches Catherine of Medicis, ib. See *Guise*, *Medicis*, *Henry III.* Designed to be made king by the league: his death and character, 222. See *League*.

—— (Charles, second cardinal de). Designed by the third party to be made king, i. 287. He treats with Sully in favour of Henry IV. 305. His marriage with the infanta of Spain proposed by the states of Paris, and rejected, 312. Endeavours the conversion of Henry IV. Services rendered by him to Henry IV. 332. See *Abjuration*. Sully is deputed to him in Paris: their conversation, 394. He supports the Jesuits in their process with the university and curates of Paris, 399. Letters betwixt him and Sully, 402. His death: regretted by Henry, ii. 14. His abbey: his character, ib. Henry IV. disposes of his benefices, 15.

—— (Charles de). Natural son of Antony, king of Navarre, archbishop of Rouen, refuses to marry Catherine, ii. 257. Pleasant conversation between him and Roquelaure upon this subject, 258. See *Bar*, *Madame*, *Roquelaure*.

I N D E X.

- Bourbon.* (Henry de) Duke of Verneuil, See *Verneuil*.
 ——— (Madame Catherine de). See *Madame*.
 ——— (Mademoiselle de). Daughter of Henry I. prince of Condé: her death, ii. 269.
Bourdeaux. Letters from this city upon the person of Henry IV. i. 9. It shuts its gates upon this prince, 19.
Bourg-en-Bresse. Taken by marshal Biron in spite of himself, ii. 316. Strength of its castle, 345.
Bourg. A manufacturer sent for to Paris by Henry IV. iii. 217.
 ——— (Antoine-Du-Maine-Du-). Defends Laon against Henry IV. Refuses to deliver up the Bastile, i. 392. Laon surrendered, ii. 11.
 ——— (N. Du-). The advice which he gives against Lesdiguières, iii. 287.
Bourges. Taken by the protestants, i. 20. Delivered up by La-Chatre to Henry IV. 347. Sum paid for its reduction, ii. 227.
Bourrouge (Michael). See *Hallot*. (Du-)
Boursault. (N. de) A protestant gentleman, advised by John d'Albert to go to Paris, i. 18.
Bouvens. Governor of Bourg-en-Bresse: he could not prevent its being surprised, although warned, ii. 317.
Brabant. Monsieur is declared duke of it, i. 85.
Braconnier. Deputed by the city of Metz to the duke of Sully against the Jesuits, iv. 145.
Brancaleon. Discovers the design of Barriere to assassinate Henry IV. i. 341.
Branças. See *Villars*, *Oise*.
Brandenbourg. (Albert Frederic, elector of) His right to the succession of Cleves, iv. 397. Divides this succession with the palatine of Newbourg, v. 56. See *Cleves*.
 ——— (John George de). A war and process between him and the cardinal of Lorraine for the bishopric of Strasbourg, terminated by Henry IV. iii. 66.
 ——— (Marquis of). Henry's reception of him at Paris, iii. 2. He comes to see Henry at Metz, 66, 78.
Brandis, Governor of Montmelian. Delivers up the castle to Henry IV. by capitulation, ii. 333. in which his wife has some share, 336.
Brassac. See *Rochebeaucourt*.
Brasseuse. A protestant officer, i. 124. Present at the battle of Arques, 181. And likewise at Ivry, 198.

I N D E X.

- Breauté.* (Charles de) fights in the combat of twenty French against a like number of Flemish, ii. 351.
- Bréderode.* Deputy from the Flemings to Henry IV. v. 147. See *Flanders, Political design.*
- Bremont.* Mentioned in a letter from father Cotton, iv. 317.
- Bresse.* Taken by Henry IV. ii. 314. Ceded wholly to the king by the duke of Savoy, 347. See *Treaty of Lyons.* Re-united to Burgundy, 349. Opposed by the parliament of Dijon. iv. 213.
- Brest.* Besieged by the duke of Mercœur, ii. 11.
- Bretauville.* An officer of the king's household; much regretted by Henry IV. iv. 229.
- Bretoline.* An Italian: A present made him by Henry IV. iv. 161.
- Breton.* A fort, furnished with provisions and ammunition by the prince of Orange, iv. 23.
- Breton.* (Chevalier de) Agent and commissioner for the duke of Savoy in the affair of the marquisate of Saluces, ii. 284, 301, 304.
- Breton.* (Hector Le-) Receives a gratuity from the king, iv. 10.
- Brevil.* (Du-) A protestant gentleman, escapes the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, i. 29.
- Brezolles.* (N. de) A protestant, dissaffected to Henry IV. i. 231.
- Brière.* (Canal of) Begun by Sully, iii. 331.
- Bri-Conte-Robert.* Henry IV. in danger of his life there, i. 341.
- Brienne.* See *Lomenie.*
- Brigantin.* One of the faction, implores a pardon of Henry IV. iv. 79.
- Brigueux.* Governor of Bougency, delivers up this place to Henry IV. i. 162.
- Brillan.* A domestic of the prince of Condé, tore by four horses, i. 151.
- Briquemaui.* Deputed by the protestants to Charles IX. i. 15.
- Brissac.* (Charles de Cossé, count of) Governor of Angers, i. 106. His design of changing the form of government in France. The duke of Mercœur makes him governor of Paris, 372. Betrays his party, 374. Made marshal of France, ii. 174. The sum which he received for his treaty. Called to the council upon the expedition of Sedan, 252, iv. 361. Named by Henry IV.

I N D E X.

- one of the regents, 430. Mary of Medicis admits him into her council, v. 21.
- Briffon.* (Barnaby) President of the parliament of Paris, is hanged by the council of sixteen, i. 237. His eulogium; ib.
- Brittany.* Cities taken and military encounters in this province, ii. 11. Other military exploits on both sides, 98, 99. The duke of Mercœur's claims upon this province, 165. Henry IV. resolves to go thither in person, *ibid.* Object and consequence of this journey, 167. Sully causes plans to be taken of all its fortresses and coasts, iv. 226.
- Brix.* (Saint) Catherine of Medicis has a conference there with Henry IV. i. 61. Other conferences at this place, 130. Henry in danger there, *ib.*
- Broc.* (Du-) Lieutenant de prévôt, allows L'Hôte to escape, iii. 252.
- Brooke.* (George) Conspires against the king of England, iii. 169. See *James I.*
- Brossard.* (Father) A jesuit. His reception from Henry IV. at Metz, iii. 67.
- Brosse.* (La-) His prediction with regard to Henry IV. and Sully, i. 100—106.
- Brosse-Saveuse.* See *Saveuse.*
- Erossier.* (Martha) A pretended demoniac. Designs of those who bring her in play. Henry's prudence in this affair, ii. 267. Particularities concerning her, 268.
- Brouage.* Taken by the protestants, i. 3. Retaken by the duke of Maienne, 59, 60. The prince of Condé fails in his attempt upon it, 108. Sully visits this place in his journey into Poitou, iii. 167.
- Brulart.* See *Sillery* and *Berny.*
- Brunswick.* (Duke of Lunenbourg) A treaty begun by him between Spain and England, iii. 117. Ambassador in London, 190. Henry's reception of his deputy, iv. 388.
- Eude.* (The Imperialists raise the siege of) ii. 333. See *Nevers.* (Duke of)
- Budos.* (Louisa de) Wife of the constable Montmorency: her death, ii. 271.
- Bufalo.* (Cardinal) Pope's nuncio: he concludes with Sully a treaty of commerce between France and Spain, ii. 335. Is rewarded by Henry IV. 338. Sully informs him of Henry's political design, 352. His esteem and praises of Sully, iv. 14—18.

Buby.

I N D E X.

Buby. (Peter de Mornay de) His plot to carry the princes to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, i. 43. He prejudices Henry IV. against Sully, 279.

Building. (The post of superintendent of) and fortifications given to Sully. See *Fortifications*.

Buiffe. (La-) iv. 349.

Bullion. (N. de) Employed in the affair of Orange and Blacons, iv. 50. Sent by Sully into Dauphiny, 151. and to Rochelle, 188. Sent ambassador to Venice and Savoy, 429. Agent for the queen-regent in the assembly of Châtelleraut, v. 164.

Bully. The duke of Nevers badly seconds Henry IV. there, i. 239.

Buquoy. (Count of) Refuses the alliance of the marquis of Cœuvres for mademoiselle de Melun, iii. 414. Commands the Spanish forces in Flanders, iv. 25.

Bure. Henry IV. defeats at that place a squadron of the duke of Guise, i. 239.

Burgaw. (Church of Austria, marquis of) His right to the succession of Cleves, iv. 399.

Burgundy. (kingdom of) The northern provinces desirous of restoring it, iii. 110.

———— The duke of Maïenne demands the sovereignty of it from Spain, i. 282. which is agreed to, ii. 12. This province rises against the duke of Maïenne, 14. The success which the forces of Lorraine, of Henry IV. and of marshal Biron, have there, 38. Henry makes himself master of almost all Burgundy. Disobedience of its parliament, upon account of La Broëlle, iv. 213.

Burgundy. (Charles de) His daughter carries the earldom of Gueldres into the house of Austria, iii. 106.

———— (Mary de). Brings the Low Countries to Maximilian: objections to the legality of his possession, ib. See *Cleves*.

Bussy D'Ambois. (Lewis de Clermont de) In disgrace with Monsieur: his death, i. 51.

———— (René de Clermont de). Wife of Balagny: dies of grief for the loss of Cambray, ii. 62.

Butrick. Envoy from the elector Palatine to the assembly of protestants in France, i. 101.

Buzenval. (Paul Choart de) French ambassador in Holland, ii. 196. Communicates to Henry IV. the designs of the prince of Orange, 362. iii. 72. The United Provinces' great regard for him, 217. Writes the king particulars concerning the United Pro-

I N D E X.

vinces, iv. 165. Gives an account of his negotiations to Henry IV. 171. Continues to be of great use in the affairs of Flanders, 200. His death and eulogium, 206.

C.

CABINET of state. Henry IV. and Sully employ themselves in composing it. Idea and object of this great and useful work, iv. 336.

Cabrieres. Governor of Cohors, i. 70.

Cadland. (Island of) Taken by the prince of Orange, ii. 352.

Caen. Henry IV. visits this place. He takes the government of it from Crevecoeur, and confers it upon Belleford, iii. 212.

Cahors. Taken by Henry IV. i. 65, 68, 69.

Caillaudiere. (La-) Sent to disband the cavalry, iv. 83.

Calais. Acquired to France by the duke of Guise, i. 12.

Besieged by the Spaniards, ii. 58. And taken, notwithstanding all the care of Henry IV. 12. Particulars of this siege, 62. Henry's journey thither, and his motives for it, ii. 363. Another journey, iii. 56. Risban repaired, iv. 320.

—— (Port and passage of). Seized by Henry IV. i. 139.

Calatagiron. (Bonaventure de) Patriarch of Constantinople. Exerts himself successfully for the peace of Vervins, ii. 166. Attempts to hinder Sully from being a commissioner in the affair of Saluces, but fails, ii. 303.

Calderon. The offer which he made Henry IV. from Spain, i. 91.

Calignon. (N. de) Employed in the composition of the edict of Nantz, ii. 152. Henry IV. opposes an article in that edict, which is obliged to be altered, 263. ii. 345. Admitted into the council held for the return of the Jesuits. iii. 231. As likewise into that for the proving of rents, 325.

Calumniators of the duke of Sully. See *Courtiers*, *Lords*, *Jesuits*.

Calumniators (Anonymous). See *Cœuvres*, *Vendome*.

Calveyrac. (John de Sudrie de) Informs Henry IV. of the plots of the malecontents, ii. 392.

Cambray. The prince of Parma raises the siege, i. 81. Taken by the Spaniards, who drive out Balagny, ii. 58, 62. Sum paid by Henry IV. for its reduction, 227.

Camord.

I N D E X.

- Camerd.* A friend of the duke of Sully, ii. 45.
- Campagnac.* (Madam de) Sully resides at her house during the infection at Rosny, i. 127.
- Campo* (Alonso del) Defeated by the forces of queen Elizabeth in Ireland, ii. 396.
- Canada.* A colony established in opposition to the advice of Sully, iii. 225.
- Canard.* (Saint) iv. 292.
- Canals* for the joining of rivers, very useful, iii. 322. Of Brevie. See *Brevie*, *Seine*, *Loire*, *Saone*. Sully disposes of the post of hereditary master of the canals and navigation of rivers, v. 104.
- Canaye*, (Philip) De-Fresny. Ambassador at Venice, ii. 382. See *Grisons*. Gives intelligence of the difference of the Venetians and Paul V. iv. 141. Instructions which he gives Sully in this affair, 143. Ambassador to Germany, iii. 345.
- Canise.* Taken by the knights of Malta, ii. 398.
- Canisy.* (N. de) Gratuities granted him by Henry IV. iv. 10. Regretted by Henry, 229.
- Cantons* (Swiss). See *Switzerland*, *Grisons*.
- Canterbury.* Sully's reception in this city by the nobility, iii. 98. The advice of a canon to him, ib. Henry IV's opinion of this advice, 136.
- Capelle.* (La-) Besieged and taken by the Spaniards, i. 391. Retaken, ii. 46, 58.
- Capet.* (King) Sully's opinion of this race, v. 54. See *France*, (kings of)
- Capuchins.* Deputed by the Parisians to Henry III, at Chartres, i. 155. Accused of endeavouring to assassinate Henry IV. 341. They embroil the protestants with the catholics and Grisons, iii. 67.
- Instituted, iii. 243.
- Carcaffonne.* (Bishop of) Money due to him by Henry IV. iv. 204.
- Carces.* (Gaspard de Pontevéz, count of) His party in Provence, i. 271. Gives advice of the designs of the duke of Savoy, ii. 298.
- Cardinals.* Promotion of French cardinals, ii. 201. Sent to the conclave after the death of Clement VIII. They act well for France, iv. 9. Promotion of 1606. 143. Their prerogatives in Italy, 332.
- Carl-Paul.* Envoy from the elector Palatine to the duke of Sully, iv. 237.
- Carlat.* The residence of queen Margaret in this castle, which Henry IV. causes to be demolished, iv. 91.

I N D E X.

- Carlos.* (Don) Prince of Spain. Philip II. causes him to be executed, i. 16. Motives of this action, ii. 250.
- Carlovingian kings.* Sully's opinion of this race, v. 53. See *France.* (Kings of)
- Carmelites.* (Barefoot) Established in France, iii. 213.
- Carnavalet.* (Madame de) Gives good advice to Henry IV, i. 46.
- Carrouge.* See *Le-Veneur.*
- Casaubon.* Henry sends for, and fixes him at Paris, i. 226.
- Casaux.* (Charles) His party in Provence, i. 271. Is killed in endeavouring to deliver up Marseilles to the Spaniards, ii. 27.
- Casse.* (La-) A protestant. His intrigues during the siege of Amiens, ii. 149.
- Casimir.* (The prince) Enters France with an army, i. 46. Is bribed to depart. See *Medicis, Monsieur's peace.* Cities given in pledge to him by the prince of Condé, 72.
- Castile-Jaloux.* A protestant town, i. 58.
- Castinet.* Takes Bourg-en-Bresse, tho' opposed by marshal Biron, i. 34.
- Castets.* Marshal de Matignon obliged to raise the siege of this place, i. 114, 115.
- Castile.* (kings of). See *Ferdinand, Isabel.*
- (Constable of). See *Velasque.*
- Castile,* Receiver-general of the clergy, is accused of a misdemeanor, iii. 321. Is made controller-general after the death of Henry IV. Sully complains of him, v. 22.
- Castillon.* Taken by the duke of Maienne, and retaken by the duke of Bouillon, i. 157.
- Cateau-Cambresis.* The duke of Anjou takes this place by storm, i. 82.
- Catelet.* (Le-) Taken by the Spaniards, ii. 46, 58.
- Catherine of Medicis.* See *Medicis.*
- Catherine* (Madame). See *Madame.*
- Catherine.* (Fort de Saint) Attacked improperly at the siege of Rouen, i. 227, 228. See *Biron.* Sully is received there as he went to treat with admiral Villars, 348.
- (Fort de Saint-). In Savoy. Besieged and taken by Sully, ii. 340. Demolished at the entreaty of the republic of Geneva, 341.
- Catholic religion.* See *Religion.*
- Catholics* of the party of Henry IV. the most powerful in his

INDEX.

- his council, i. 214. Design to revolt at the siege of Rouen: their views, 233, 234. Their opposition to the protestants occasion the raising this siege, 259, 261. See *Biron*, *Bouillon*, *Protestants*. Refuse to pursue the prince of Parma, ib. Oblige Henry IV. to refuse the offers of the League, 306. The wise conduct of Henry IV. with regard to them, 340. Their jealousy of Sully, 342. They murmur at his embassy to London, iii. 78. The catholic power in Europe, compared with that of the protestants, and the power of each party, 168. See *Political Design*, *James*. Their intrigues against Henry IV. in favour of Spain. See *League*, *Pope*, *Spain*, *Jesuits*.
- Cavagne*. (Arnaud de) Deputed by the protestants to Charles IX. i. 15.
- Caudefec*, Surrendered to the prince of Parma, and retaken by Henry IV. i. 251.
- Caumartin*. (Lewis Le Fevre de) Keeper of the seals. Of great service to Henry IV. in those districts in which he is sent, ii. 108. Appointed to assist at the conference at Boulogne, 201. To treat with the Swiss ambassadors, iii. 55. Called to the council upon the affair of the Jesuits, 231. Commissioner in the affair of the purchase of the earldom of Saint Paul, iv. 22. Prepossesses the landgrave of Hesse against the duke of Bouillon, 72. His good management in the distribution of the pay to the Swiss Cantons, 225. He serves the prince d'Epenoi with the States General, 384. Elogium of his negotiations in Swisserland, and with the Grisons, 393. Appointed ambassador to Switzerland, 429. Admitted into the council of the queen regent, v. 21.
- Caumont*. (Francis Nompars de) Killed at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 31.
- (James Nompars de). See *Epernon* (Duke of).
- A protestant city, iv. 277.
- Gaussade*. An estate purchased by Sully, iii. 365.
- See *Megrin* (Saint).
- Causse*. One of the disaffected, implores pardon of Henry, iv. 79.
- Caylus*. (James de Lewis de) A favourite of Henry III. ii. 15.
- Caxal*. (Alphonso) Deputy from Spain to the Grison league at Coire, but does not succeed, iii. 357.
- Cecil*. (Robert) Ambassador from queen Elizabeth to Henry IV. His conversation with this prince, ii. 177.

Cecil.

INDEX.

Cecil. (William) Secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, ii. 177. His character, iii. 108. Visits the duke of Sully; and his opinion of him, 114. His artifice to procure the favour of king James, 132. See *James*. Conference between him, the English counsellors, and Sully, in which he endeavours to surprise and deceive him, 148. He is deputed to the count of Aremburg, 150. His attachment to Spain, 152. Discovers himself always against the Dutch, 156. His conference with Sully and the deputies from the United Provinces, in which he exerts all the craft of a statesman, 157. And his opposition to giving succour to the states-general, 179. The king of England discontented with his conduct, 176. He continues to assist the Spanish faction, 196. At last declares himself, against his will, for a treaty of alliance with France, 197.

Censors. A scheme for establishing them in France for the punishment of dissoluteness and prodigality, iv. 344.

Cercotte. Sully has a meeting at this place with queen Margaret; the subject of their conversation, iv. 42.

Chalons. Assembly of the League, and conferences in this city. See *League*, *Henry III.* *Medicis*, *Guises*.

Chalandeau. A protestant officer, i. 124.

Challenge. An enemy and calumniator of Sully's, iii. 399.

Chaligny. (Henry of Lorraine, counsellor of) Kills Chicot, who had made him prisoner, i. 99, 348.

Chalon-sur-Maine. Henry IV. narrowly escapes being assassinated there, i. 341.

Chamant. (John and Anthony de St.) Employed by the League in Languedoc and Limosin, and afterwards by Henry IV. ii. 98, 99.

Chamber of Accounts. Guilty of some disrespect to Henry IV. ii. 159. Abuses in it corrected by the duke of Sully, 239. Opposes the establishment of a new council, iii. 325. Sully complains of that chamber, and subjects it to new regulations, iv. 241. Other regulations made in this chamber, 288.

Chamber of Justice. Established by Henry IV. ii. 142. Another in the year 1601, and called the Royal Chamber, ii. 358. Another in 1604, iii. 325. Another in 1607, contrary to Sully's advice, iv. 222. Reflections and reasonings of this minister upon these establishments, 224.

Chambert,

I N D E X.

- Chamberi, or Chambaret.* One of the chief royalists in Languedoc, ii. 98, 99. Contributes to the taking of Bourg, 317.
- Chambery.* Henry IV. takes this city and makes entertainments in it, ii. 319.
- Chambrai.* (N. de) Present at the battle of Ivry, i. 198.
- Chamier.* A protestant minister, behaves disrespectfully to the constable, iv. 188.
- Chamnite.* (Count of) Governor of Franche Comte; assists the prince of Joinville and other malecontents, iii. 36.
- Champaign.* Revolts against the duke of Guise, ii. 21. See *Rheims*. The Spanish usurpation upon this frontier proved by Sully, who obliges them to make restitution, iv. 287.
- Champigny.* A commissioner in Orleans and Touraine, ii. 243.
- Champs.* (Des) One of Henry IV's household, i. 72.
- Chancellors of France.* L'Hopital, Birague, Chiverny, Believre, Sillery. See each of these names.
- Changer.* (Father) A jesuit, iv. 317.
- Chantivaut.* (René Vial de) Attends Henry IV. to Aumale, i. 238.
- (Madame de). Engages in the amours of Henry IV. iv. 188.
- Chantellerie.* (La) Is defeated endeavouring to succour Noyon, i. 219.
- Chanteloup.* (N. de) One of Sully's prisoners at the battle of Ivry, i. 196.
- Chantilly.* The ordinary residence of Henry IV. in the spring, iii. 241, 258.
- Chapelle-Biron.* (Charles de Charbonniere de La) One of the officers of the League, ii. 98. Joins the malecontents, iv. 42.
- Charbonnieres.* Sully lays siege to it, notwithstanding the opposition of the courtiers: takes it with great trouble; and prevents it from being plundered, ii. 321.
- Charite.* (La) A protestant city, i. 2.
- Charity.* (Christian) Given by Henry IV. for a royal hospital for disabled soldiers, ii. 328.
- Charlemaign.* Prevents the establishment of too many religious houses in France, iii. 362. Sully's judgment concerning his reign, iv. 312.
- Charles Martel.* Sully's opinion of this king, v. 54.
- Charles V.* King of France: his reign proposed as a model of good government, iii. 330. He submits to the autho-

I N D E X,

- the authority of the states of the kingdom, iv. 293. Remarks on his reign, v. 119.
- Charles VI.* King of France: his reign called by Sully the tomb of laws and manners, iv. 294.
- Charles VII.* King of France. The taille, in his reign becomes a settled tax, iv. 294. Remarks on his reign, iii. 324.
- Charles VIII.* His reign the source of the male-administration of the finances, ii. 15. The value of the taille in his reign, iii. 97.
- Charles IX.* King of France: his affection for Henry IV. i. 11. Divides his favours amongst the princes of the blood, the Guises, and the constable, 13. The deep dissimulation he makes use of to destroy the protestants, 15. An instance of his hatred to the duke of Guise, 16. He draws the protestants to Paris, 18. Escapes being taken by them at Meaux, 20. He caresses the chiefs of the protestants. See *Coligny*. *Protestants*. The security with which he inspires them, 23. Reflections upon his behaviour to Coligny, 24. The massacre of St. Bartholomew: his severity to the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, 34. His remorse for the massacre of St. Bartholomew: disavows it, 37. Instances of his cruelty, 38. Favours the protestants out of hatred to his mother, whom he suspects of having poisoned him, 41. The grief he expresses at his death for the massacre: his death: good and bad qualities, 44. His treaty of commerce with the English disadvantageous to France, iii. 90. Value of the taille in his reign, iv. 294.
- Charles IV.* (Emperor) Assists the house of La-Mark in taking possession of the duchy of Cleves, iii. 177. See *Cleves*.
- Charles V.* A bon-mot of his upon France, i. 307. His ambition: his project: his retreat, ii. 245. He orders that the kingdom of Navarre should be restored to the house of Albret, 248. See *Philip II.* An abridgment of his life: his scheme of universal monarchy, 240. Sully's opinion of this prince, iv. 312. His dissipations of the estates of Cleves, 400. His oppression of the elector of Saxony and the German princes, 406. His engagements with the electors, v. 137.
- Charney.* (Eleanor de Chabot, count of) Saves the protestants in his government during the massacre, i. 38.
- Charost.* See *Bethune*.
- Charron.*

I N D E X.

- Charvon. (Le).* Clerk to the council of finances, ii. 113.
115.
- Chartres.* Henry IV. retires there after the day of the barricadoes: what happened to him there, i. 151. Taken by the two kings, 155. Taken by Chatillon, 215. Henry IV. crowned here, 315. The queen makes a journey to this city, iv. 191.
- Chartres.* (John de Ferriere, viscount of) Escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29. Present at the battle of Arques, 181.
- Chartres.* (Pregent de La Fin, vidame de) Made use of to prevail upon La Fin, his uncle, to come to Fontainebleau, ii. 393.
- Chastes.* (Aymar de) Governor of Dieppe, promises to receive Henry in it, i. 180.
- Chataigneraye.* (John de Vivonne, de La) Prisoner to Sully at the battle of Ivry, i. 196. Account of his death, 198.
- Chateau Gay,* (Madame de) Mistress of the count of Auvergne, iii. 303.
- Chateaufneuf, or Passava.* Taken and demolished by the knights of Malta, ii. 398.
- Chateaufneuf.* (René de St. Marthe, de) One of the principal royalists in Languedoc, ii. 98. Implores pardon for marshal Biron, iii. 26.
- Chateaufneuf L'Aubepine.* See *Aubepine.*
- Chateaupers.* (Francis Hurault de) First husband of the duchess of Sully, i. 276.
- Chateaupers.* (Madame de). See *Sully* (Duchess of).
- Chateau-Thierry.* Given to D'Inchy by Monsieur, i. 84. This prince dies there. 93.
- Cheateauvieux.* (Joachim de) Captain of the guards, takes an oath of fidelity to Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. iii. 55. One of the disaffected catholics during the siege of Rouen, 111. Sent by Mary of Medicis to queen Margaret, iv. 92. Appointed one of the council of the regent, v. 77. Made governor of the Bastile, 87.
- Chatel.* (John) Wounds Henry IV. with a knife, ii. 36. Particulars relating to his wicked attempt, trial, and death, ib.
- Chatelet.* (Le) An estate purchased by Sully, v. 104.
- Châtelleraut.* Taken by Henry IV. i. 162. The general assembly of the protestants held in this city. Reciprocal designs of Henry IV. and the protestants. Artifice of the latter. Subjects which ought to have been treated

I N D E X.

treated, ii. 160. Motives for sending the duke of Sully there: the public instructions which he received, 162. His private instructions, 169, 170. His advice against the assembly. See *Margaret, Rodelle*. Letters and artifices of the duke of Bouillon to make an insurrection among the protestant party, 173. The courage and wisdom of Sully in declaring the king's intentions, 178. He is not appointed president, 182. An arrogant and seditious letter to Bouillon intercepted, 185. Sully renders ineffectual the cabals of the malecontents, 188. He makes the memorial for a protestant republic to be rejected, 192, 193. Affairs relating to the deputies-general terminated by Sully to the king's satisfaction, 195. As likewise those relating to the cautionary towns, 198—202. His bold and wise speech at the closing of the assembly, 204. Another assembly when the protestants support Sully against the court and the queen-regent, v. 162. Public works of Sully in this city, 184.

Chatellier. (Father) A jesuit: Henry's reception of him at Metz, iii. 67.

Chatelon. (N. de) Sully hinders his deputies from being admitted into the assembly of Châtelleraut and into the protestant synods, iv. 51.

— An engineer supports the advice of Sully for besieging Sedan, 124. He makes plans of the frontiers of Champaign, 344.

Chatre. (Claude de La) Commands the forces of the League at the siege of Rouen, i. 237. Created marshal of France by the League, 306. Delivers up Orleans and Bourges to Henry IV. 347. Sum of money received by him for his treaty, ii. 227. Consulted by Sully upon the regulations for Berry, iv. 217. Henry's letters to him upon the affair of Orleans, 316. Commands the army sent to the siege of Juliers, v. 54.

Chaufaille and his wife. Citizens of Paris, sponsors for the marquis of Rosny, who was born during the persecution, ii. 220.

Chaumont. See *Guitry*.

— (N. de) One of the courtiers who lived familiarly with Henry IV. iv. 167.

— (St.) Lieutenant of the king in Lyonnois, makes head there against d'Alincourt, v. 92.

Chauvelin. (Sebastian) Counsellor of parliament, ii. 220.

Chaux. (Viscount of) His offers to Henry IV. on the part of Spain, i. 92, 337.

Chef-

I N D E X.

- Chef-Boutonne.* A French officer, goes into the service of the Archduke, iv. 10.
- Chelles.* Henry IV. commits an error in chusing this post, i. 210.
- Chene.* (Le) An officer in the army of Henry IV. i. 124.
- Chesny.* (The abbot of) Concerned in the conversion of Henry IV. i. 320.
- Chevalerie.* (Order of) Designed to be instituted by Henry IV. iv. 334.
- (La) This name intended to be assumed by Sully upon his taking upon him the government of the Bastile, ii. 396.
- Chevalier.* Informs Sully of the intrigues of the duke of Savoy, iii. 391.
- Chicot.* The trick which he plays the marshal Levaradin, i. 99. His character and bon-mots, *ibid.*
- Childerick.* The reasons of his being dethroned, iv. 293.
- Chilperic.* Assassinated by Bodillon, iv. 293.
- Chisay.* Taken by Henry IV. i. 121. Two remarkable accidents which happened at this siege, *ib.*
- Chiverny.* (Henry Hurault of) Attends Henry IV. into Burgundy, ii. 56.
- Chiverny, or Cheverny.* (Philip Hurault of) Chancellor, i. 308. The cognizance of the treaty of the duke of Guise taken from him by Henry IV. ii. 20. Enters into the new council of the finances, 31. Favours the designs of the duchess of Beaufort, 39. 165. Employed in the articles of pacification with the protestants, 166. Assists the duchess of Beaufort in her endeavours to be made queen, 193. Sum of money received by him for her treaty, 227. His death, 268.
- Choart.* See *Buzenval*
- Choirin.* Employed by Henry IV. to discover the secrets of the League, i. 285.
- Choiseul.* See *Craftin*.
- Chouppes.* (Peter de) Preserved at the massacre of Paris, i. 29. Comes to the assistance of Henry IV. at Cahors, 68, 69.
- Church.* One besieged by Henry IV. i. 57. Churches built and repaired by this prince, iv. 212.
- Church of England.* Conferences between them and the puritans, iii. 344.
- Clairvant* (Claude-Antoine de Vienne de) Solicits forces in Germany for Henry IV. i. 121. Partly the cause of the defeat at Auneau, 149. See *German horse, Swiss.*

Clan.

I N D E X.

- Clan.* (St. Guman of) One of the protestant chiefs, enemy to Henry IV. i. 101. His plots during the siege of Amiens, 151. Sides with the duke of Bouillon against Henry and Sully, ii. 3. Endeavours to raise an insurrection in the assembly at Châtelleraut, 173, 185. Supports the project of a protestant republic in France, 192. Sully excludes him from the general deputation, 196. Attempts to divert Henry from the enterprize upon Sedan, 245. Employed by Sully in the affair of Metz against the jesuits, 272. Quarrel between this family and the family of La-Force, iv. 269.
- Clarengal.* (Madame de) Employed in the affair of Adrienne de Fresne, iv. 146. See *Cotton*.
- Clavelle.* (La) Attached to the queen, iv. 168. His obligations to Sully, and his counsel to him, v. 92.
- Claussebourg.* Taken by the Imperialists. See *Basle*.
- Claye.* A skirmish at this place, i. 210.
- Clement,* (James) A dominican friar: kills Henry III. i. 171. Particulars relating to this action, ib.
- Clement VII.* His conduct censured by Sully, iv. 142.
- Clement.* VIII. Makes difficulties in receiving the abjuration of Henry IV. and granting his absolution, i. 334. Elogium upon this Pope, 396. Interests himself for the jesuits in their process against the university. Grants absolution to Henry IV. the conditions, ii. 59. Endeavours to procure a general peace, 166. Inclined to the dissolution of the marriage of Henry IV. with queen Margaret, 183. Refuses a dispensation for the marriage of Madame with the duke of Bar, 202. Resolves not to concern himself in the affair of the marquise of Saluces, 283. Agrees to Henry's marriage with Mary of Medicis, 314. Henry's deference for him in the treaty of Savoy, 349. Presents made to his chamberlain, iii. 56. Henry satisfied him with regard to his armaments, 70. Disturbances in England by his endeavouring to establish an archpriest there, 145. Reciprocal civilities between him and the king of England, 147. Interests himself for the recall of the jesuits into France: complains of the synod of Gap: establishes many religious orders, 213. Promotion of cardinals, in which he has regard to the recommendation of the duke of Sully, 258. See *Du-Perron*, *Olivary*. His moderation to the protestants praised by Sully, 293. He exerts himself for the conclusion of the treaty of commerce with Spain, 335. Favours the design of Henry

I N D E X.

Henry against Spain, 352. His death. Particulars of his death and character; his affection for Sully, iv.

13.

Clergy of France. In the states of Paris unite with Spain, in favour of the duke of Guise against Henry IV. i.

312. Their hatred to this prince, 316. See *League*.

Assembly of, in 1598, ii. 142. Opposes the marriage of the princess Catherine with the duke of Bar, 255. As likewise the registration of the edict of Nantz, and makes alterations in it, 262. Project for their reformation by Henry. See *Cabinet of State*.

Clermont. Taken by Henry IV. i. 213. Danger of madame de Liancourt in her journey to this place, ii. 80.

— (*d'Amboise*). See *Amboise*.

— (*Refnel*). See *Refnel*.

— (*Tonnerre*). See *Tonnerre*.

— (*N. de*). Commands the artillery at the battle of Coutras, i. 140. Advises the amendment of the edict of Nantz, 266. Sent to Sully by the prince of Condé, v. 105.

Cleves. (Duchy of) Motives to undertake a war with the house of Austria, iii. 172. See *Political Design*. Death of its last duke. See *Cleves* (William duke of). Account of this principality: of the princes and princesses of this name, iv. 395. The German princes who have claim to it, meet at Hall, and send a deputation to Henry IV. 411. Henry begins to march his troops to this place, 422. An extraordinary council held by Mary of Medicis upon this occasion, v. 29. See *Sully*. Sends an army to the siege of Juliers, 54. Conclusion of this affair, 56. Division of its succession, ib. See *Henry IV. Sully, Medicis*, (Mary of) *Rodolph, Brandenburg, Neubourg, Leopold*.

— (Ann of) Right of Philip Lewis, count palatine of Neubourg, by her, to this succession, iv. 396.

— (Catherine of). See *Guise* (Duchess of).

— (John William, duke of). His death: his children: his alliances: several princes claim a right to his succession, iv. 395.

Cleves. (John William of) Son to the former. By his death, his sisters become his heirs, iv. 397.

— (Madeleine of). Right of John, count palatine de Deux Ponts, to the succession of Cleves by this lady, iv. 336.

VOL. V.

T

Cleves.

I N D E X.

- Cleves.* (Mary of). Married to Henry I. Prince of Condé i. 15.
 — (Mary-Eleanor of). Right of Albert-Frederick of Brandenburg to the succession of Cleves, by her, iv. 396.
 — (Sybille of). Right of Charles of Austria, by her, to the succession of Cleves, iv. 336.
Clielle. (La) Yeoman of the mouth to Henry IV. iv. 163.
Clotaire. I. and II. Sully's opinion of these kings. See *Merovingians* (Race of).
Cloud. (Saint) Henry III. assassinated at this place, i. 171.
Clovis. Sully's opinion of this king, iv. 212.
Clusseau. (Nicholas Blanchard de) Killed at the taking of Ham, ii. 58.
Coasts of France. Sully causes plans to be drawn of them, iv. 288.
Cobham. (Lord) Visits Sully at Dover, ii. 370. One of the disaffected party in London, iii. 111. His advice to Sully, 136. Conspires against king James I. 169.
Cochebelet. (House of) Eminent, iii. 185.
 — (Andrew de). See *Vaucelas*.
 — (Rachael de). See *Sully* (Duchess of).
Coconnas. (Annibal de) Beheaded by order of Catherine of Medicis, i. 43.
Coeme. (Jeane de) Married to the prince of Conty, ii. 381. See *Montaffie*.
Coesnard. Sent commissioner into Poitou, ii. 243.
Cœur. (Bartholomew) Ambassador from the grand signior, ii. 366.
Cœuvres. (Francis Annibal d'Estrees, marquiss of) Reasons for his hatred to the duke of Sully, iii. 398. The relations of mademoiselle de Melun refuse her in marriage to him, 414.
Cognac. One of the cautionary towns granted to the protestants, i. 3. A conference held in it between Catherine of Medicis and Henry IV. 131.
Coire. The Grison league assemble at this place, iii. 357. Its bishop favours the Spanish party, iv. 204.
Colange. A commissioner in Languedoc, iii. 91.
Colas. Seneschal of Monthmar defends La Fère against Henry IV. ii. 72.
Coligny. (Gaspard de Chatillon, admiral of) Commands the protestant forces at Arnai-le-Duc, i. 2. Declared innocent of the murder of the duke of Guise, 13. See *Guise*, *Polrot*. Resides at Rochelle, after the peace of

I N D E X.

- 1570, 14. Marries the countess of Entremont: magnificent offers made to him by the court, 16. See *Charles IX. Medicis*. Appointed Viceroy in the Low Countries: other favours conferred upon him by Charles IX. ib. Commands the protestants at the enterprize upon Meaux, 20. Wounded by Maurcoat, 25. Account of the proceedings of Charles IX. with regard to him, 25. Opposes the advice given him to leave Paris, 29. His talents and great qualities: killed at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 31.
- Coligny-Chatillon* (Charles de). See *Andelot* (de).
 _____ (Francis de). Son to the admiral, saves himself at Geneva at the massacre of Paris, i. 34. His advice upon the entry of the foreign forces into France not followed, 124. Employed in the defence of Tours, 167. Gains the battle of Saveuse, 168. Carries the suburbs of St. Germain, 186. Takes Chartres, 215. His death, ib. His elogium, *ibid*.
- _____ (Henry de) Grandson of the Admiral: killed at the siege of Ostend: his great qualities: regretted by Sully, but not by Henry IV. ii. 375.
- _____ (Odet de). Cardinal of Châtillon, i. 15. Particulars relating to his life and death, 16.
- College*. (Royal) Intended to be founded by Henry IV, iv. 336. See *Cabinet of State*. Reflections upon colleges, and the instruction fit to be taught in them, *ib*.
- Colombe*. (N. de Saint) A Catholic officer of Henry IV's party, ii. 51.
- Colombieres*. (Francis de Briegueville of) A protestant, i. 24. Killed at the massacre of Paris, 31.
- Colony*. Sent to the East-Indies, iii. 225.
- Colvilly*. Writes against king James I. and disapproved of by the Pope, iii. 148.
- Coman*, (Jacqueline Le-Voyer de) or *Discoman*. Informs Henry IV. of a conspiracy against him, iv. 137. Particulars concerning his law-suit, and different opinions upon the whole of that affair, 458.
- Combaut*. Sully's severity to him, iii. 102.
- Combrailles*. Sully visits his estates there, i. 214.
- Come*. A fort built upon this lake by the Spaniards: produces contests between them and the Grisons, iii. 353. See *Fuentes*, *Grisons*.
- Comedians*. [Italian] Brought into France by Henry IV. iv. 236.
- Comet* in 1607. Superstitious application of this comet to the children of France, iv. 232.

I N D E X.

- Commene.* (Alexis) Emperor of Constantinople, i. 6.
- Commerce.* Ruined by war, ii. 226. Abuses in it corrected by Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, 354. The treaty of commerce between Charles IX. and Elizabeth disadvantageous to France, iii. 89. Edicts destructive to commerce granted by Henry IV. against the advice of Sully, 202. Maxims of commerce, 225. Promoted by the joining of rivers and making of public roads, 322. See *Rivers, Roads*. Commerce with Spain prohibited, 326. Sequel of this affair, 332. Established by a treaty, 333. See *Spain, Sully, Bufals*. Projects for the improvements of commerce, iv. 339. See *Cabinet of State*.
- Commercy.* (Lordship of) Unjustly usurped by the Spaniards and the duke of Lorraine; and restored, iv. 287.
- Comminges.* See *Sobolle*.
- Commissioners.* Sent into the provinces: regulations given them by Sully, iv. 216.
- Compromise.* For the marquise of Saluces, in the hands of the Pope, ii. 1.
- Comptants.* Mary of Medicis continues the use of them notwithstanding the opposition of Sully: disputes on this subject betwixt him and Puget, v. 60.
- Conan, Conas, or Conac.* (Baron of) Defeated with the garrison of Soissons, ii. 38.
- Conchine, or Concini.* Attends Mary of Medicis into France, ii. 350. Gives her bad council, iii. 271. Henry's hatred to him: the queen makes him marry Leonora Galligai, and opposes the design of sending him back to Italy: abuses the confidence she puts in him: his ambition iv. 255. Secret motives for the jealousy with which he inspires her against the king: his intrigues with the court of Spain against Henry IV. 390. Henry refuses to send him ambassador into Florence, 392. Endeavours to ruin Sully after the death of the king, v. 18. Governs the queen regent, 21. Joins himself with the count of Soissons, 26. His quarrels and reconciliation with the count of Soissons, 29. Advises an alliance with Spain, 38. Receives Sully's kind offers with disdain. See *Arnaud*, 53. Particular circumstances relating to his life and death, ib. The queen regent publicly declares him her favourite, 56. Opposes the advice of Sully in the affair of Cleves, 59. He treats with the duke of Bouillon for the post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber, 60. Supports the demands of the count of Soissons, 61. Advises the queen

I N D E X.

- queen regent to continue the comptants, 64. Sully reproaches him for fraudulently using the deceased king's seal. He quarrels with the nobility, 67. Dares not attempt to banish Sully immediately, 69. Visits him: their conversation, 75. Posts and dignities conferred upon him by the queen regent, 77. Joins himself with Villeroi and Alincourt against Sully in the affair of Lyons, 84.
- Condé*. A house belonging to the bishop of Evreux, where Sully treats with Medavy, i. 359.
- (Charlotte-Margaret de Montmorency, princess of). See *Montmorency*.
- (Charlotte-Catherine de La-Trémouille, princess of). See *Tremouille* (Charlotte-Catherine de La).
- (Henry I. de Bourbon, prince of). Present at the encounter of Arnai-le-Duc, i. 4. Marries Mary of Cleves, 15. Charles IX. uses injurious language to him at the massacre of St. Bartholomew: obliges him to go to mass: detains him prisoner, 34. Makes his escape, and declared chief of the protestant party, 43. Brings a foreign army into France, and joins with Monsieur and the king of Navarre, 46. Separates from them, 59. Challenged by the viscount of Turenne. See *Bouillon*. Endeavours to form a sovereignty for himself: Henry IV. obliges him to lay aside that design, 72. Fails in his attempt upon Angers, 106. Upon Brouage, 108. Danger in his retreat, 110. Brings his forces to Henry IV. 123. His courage and conduct at the battle of Coutras, 139—141. His projects after this battle, 145. His death, 149. Particularities relating to it, 151. Intended to have been married to Madame, 518.
- (Henry II. de Bourbon, prince of). His birth, i. 151. The Pope engages Henry IV. to educate him a roman catholic, 399. Henry IV. supports his rights, ii. 85. He joins the disaffected, iii. 260. Grants made him, iv. 230. Henry IV. discontented with his proceedings: proposes to marry him to mademoiselle de Montmorency, iv. 269. This marriage determined: motives which induced Henry IV. to it, contrary to the advice of Sully, 322. Quarrels which ensued between Henry IV. and this prince, 363. Particulars upon the consequence of this jealousy, 365. Sully's bold discourse to him, 366. Carries the princess of Condé into Flanders, 371. Particulars relating to this flight, ib. His letter to Sully, 374. An account of this

INDEX.

whole affair, 372. Returns into France after the death of Henry IV. and enters Paris, accompanied by Sully, v. 42. Received coldly by the queen regent, 46. Follows the advice of Sully, 47. Afterwards becomes his enemy, 50. Means which he employs for that purpose, 52. Gifts bestowed upon him by the queen regent, 77. Estates sold and exchanged between Sully and the prince of Condé, which he endeavours to have confiscated, 108. His revolt, 164.

— (Lewis I. de Bourbon, prince of). Killed at the battle of Jarnac, i. 1. Commands the protestants at the skirmish of Meaux, 20.

— (Mary of Cleves, princess of). See *Cleves* (Mary of).

Conferences. Of Baionne. See *Medicis* (Catherine of), *Albe* (Duke of), *Baionne*. Between Henry IV. and marshal Biron, for a peace, i. 59. Between Catherine and Henry IV. at different places, 61. Others at Cognac, between the same; at St. Brix; St. Maixent, 130. Between Catherine, the cardinal of Bourbon, and the duke of Guise. See *Barricades*, *Chalons*, *Sarry*, *Nemours*. At Surenne, La-Villette, Mante, Pontoise, Andresy, Milly. See these names. At Boulogne. See *Boulogne*. A conference upon religion to convert the princess Catherine proves ineffectual, ii. 256. A public conference or dispute between Du-Perron and Du-Plessis-Mornay, 305. At Ratisbon. See *Ratisbon*. Between Sully and the English ministers and others. See *Sully*, *James I. Cecil*. At London for a peace between Spain and the United Provinces, iii. 341. Between the members of the church of England and the puritans, 345. At the Hague for a truce. See *Spain*, *Holland*. Upon the affairs of Cleves. See *Cleves*.

Confession. Proposals of the jesuits, for confession by letters, iii. 241.

Constans. Taken by Henry IV. ii. 319.

Conjurations and Conspiracies. Against Henry IV. See *Henry IV.* *Spain*, *Biron*, *Savoy*, *Malecontents*, *League*, *Ravaillac*, *Coman*, *Entragues*, *Verneuil*. Against the king of England. See *James I. English*.

Consignations. (Receivers of) These offices united to the domaine, iv. 218, 220.

Constables of France. Montmorency, Lefdiguieres. See these names. Sully refuses the post of constable of France, offered him by Henry IV. iv. 242.

Constant.

I N D E X.

Constant. A malecontent, i. 296. Cabals during the siege of Amiens, ii. 151. Likewise during Sully's journey into Poitou, iii. 291. One of the schemers for a protestant republic in France, iv. 62—69.

—— A messenger of state, iii. 377.

Constantine. Bad policy of this emperor, iii. 320.

Constantinople. Revolt of, iv. 291. See *Turk*, *Mahomet III.* *Acmet.*

Contenant. (N. de) Officer of the League, i. 178.

Controllers-general. Incarville, De-Vienne, Castille. See these names.

Conty. (Francis de Bourbon, prince of) Brings forces to the assistance of Henry IV. i. 147. Is defeated at the battle of Craon, 206. Made president of the council during the war of 1597. ii. 41. Slanders raised on account of his friendship for Sully, iii. 403. His quarrels with the count of Soissons, with the prince of Joinville, iv. 269. The queen regent admits him into her council, v. 21. Quarrel between him and the count of Soissons, 27. Sully's advice with respect to him, 47.

—— (Jean de Coëme, princess of). Employed to bring about a marriage between the duke of Vendome and mademoiselle de Mercœur, iv. 272. See *Coëme*, *Montaffie.*

Convents, Hospitals, &c. Built or repaired by Henry IV. iv. 8, 9.

Conversations. That of Henry IV. with Sully upon his journey to Flanders, and upon the duke of Anjou, i. 207. Upon the designs of the League and the protestants, 103. Between the president De-Thou and Montagne, concerning the views of Henry IV. and the duke of Guise, 104. Between Henry and Sully, concerning the siege of Rouen and the mutiny among the forces, 233. Upon this prince's change of religion, 291. Between Sully and Villars concerning his treaty, 361. Between Sully and the cardinal of Bourbon on several subjects, 304. Between Sully and Bouillon upon the designs of the latter, ii. 3. Between Sully and the princess Catherine, concerning the love between her and the count of Soissons, 85. Between Henry and Sully, after his return from the districts, 112, 113. Upon the error that prince committed in pardoning the prince de Mercœur, 169. Between Henry and the English and Dutch ambassadors, 177. A curious conversation between Henry and Sully, concern-

I N D E X.

ing the design of this prince to marry again, 183. Between Sully, Henry, and the duchess of Beaufort, concerning their quarrels, 208. Between the archbishop of Rouen and Roquelaure, upon the marriage of the princess Catherine, 258. Between queen Elizabeth and Sully, upon the means of humbling the house of Austria, 370. Between Henry and Sully, upon the grants this prince intended to make him, iii. 41. Upon the death of Elizabeth, and his embassy to London, 77. Between the king of England and Sully, at his first audience, upon different subjects, 124. Other private conferences upon the designs against the house of Austria, 141. Between Henry and Sully, upon his return from London, 189. Upon his silk manufactories, 217. Against recalling the jesuits, 233. Upon the expences of Henry, and his domestic broils, 260. Between Sully and the marchioness of Verneuil, upon her treasonable practices, 306. Interesting and important conversation between Henry and Sully, in which they are reconciled, 395. Between their majesties and Sully, upon the subject of their disputes, iv. 104. Between Henry and Sully, upon the power of the house of Austria, 110. Between Henry, Sully, and the courtiers, upon the public news, 167. Between Henry and Sully, upon the gallantries of this prince, 181. Upon the cabals of Spain against Henry, 191. Great offers made to Sully by Henry IV. 241. Upon the subjects of complaint of Henry against the queen, and the marchioness of Verneuil, 251. Between Henry, the queen, Sully, and the ministers, upon the domestic factions, 274. Between Henry, Sully, and the courtiers, upon the great men of antiquity, 313. Between Henry and Sully upon the domestic and foreign plots against his life, 321. Upon the memoirs of the finances, 339. Upon the composition of a cabinet of state, 346. Between Sully and the prince of Condé, concerning the supposed causes of the discontent of the latter, 365. Between Henry and Sully on the same subject, 368. Upon the prince of Condé's flight, 370. Upon the manner of executing his great designs, 412. Upon the secret presages he had in his own mind of his approaching death, and upon the conspiracy against his life, 434. Between the prince of Condé and Sully, in which he gives that prince good advice, v. 47. *Coquet*. Master of the household to Henry IV. ii. 361. *Corbeil*. Taken by the duke of Parma, i. 213.

Corbie

I N D E X.

Corbie. Taken by Henry IV. i. 206.

Corbigniere. (La) A farmer of the king's revenues, ii. 74.

Cordier. (Le) An evidence against D'Entragues, iii. 369.

Cosé. (Artus de) Marshal of France, defeated by the protestant army, i. 46. Catherine de Medicis makes use of him to deceive the protestants, 14.

— (Charles de). See *Brissac*.

Cotton. (John and Antony) Father Cotton's brothers, iv. 148.

— (Peter). A jesuit: how received by Henry IV. at Metz, iii. 67. Endeavours to procure the establishment of his society in France, 229. Visits Sully, 239. Circumstances relating to his life, and Henry's friendship for him, 256. Joins the courtiers against Sully, 371. A great quarrel between Sully and him on account of the college of Poitiers, in which he is convicted of calumny, 372. Henry reconciles them: he deserts Sully in the affair of Grillon, 387. Takes some indiscreet steps in the affair of Adrienne de Fresne, iv. 146. Supports father Seguiran against the Rochellers, 188. Succeeds in his endeavours to bring about a marriage between the duke of Vendome and mademoiselle de Mercœur, 272. An imprudent letter written by him concerning the news of the court, 316. Henry and Sully disgusted with him upon this occasion, 320. He is involved in the guilt of Ravaillac's parricide: his justification, 452. See *Jesuits*. Admitted into the secret council of the queen regent, v. 21.

Coucy. (House of) Allied to the ancient house of Austria, i. 7. To the house of Bethune; great persons which it has produced, iv. 391.

Coudrai. (Du) Proposed for one of the deputies general of the protestant party, and rejected, iv. 66. See *Châteleraut*.

Coulon. (Abby of) Given to Sully, iii. 70. He sells it, v. 104.

Council of State and of the Finances. Alterations made in it by Henry IV. Operations in the new council: quarrels amongst the members, ii, 31. A new council established by Henry IV. during the war of 1595. contrary to the advice of Sully, 41, 42. Their cabals against Sully. Abuses committed by them. Henry's irresolution to introduce Sully into this council, 100. but at last is received into it. 105. Their calumnies and artifices to deceive and ruin him, 108—117. Sully gains

I N D E X.

- gains the superiority in the council, 137. Henry disgusted with their proceedings, 156. Sully reforms the abuses in it, 212. An account of the several councils in the reign of Henry IV. 220. Sully quarrels with the duke of Epernon in full council, 233. Their jealousy of Sully, 241. New changes by giving the post of superintendant to Sully, 268. Their hatred of him, iii. 398. They value the farms under borrowed names; this abuse corrected by Sully, iv. 2. They oppose Henry's design of being made emperor; and his political design, 26. Their views in accepting the proposals made by the United Provinces of submitting to France. What passed in the council upon this occasion, 199. Sully's scheme of a new council not approved of by Henry IV. 222. Of regulations for abolishing abuses. See *Cabinet of State*. See likewise upon this whole article, *Finances and Financiers, Ministers, Villeroy, Jeannin, Sillery, &c.*
- Council of Regency*, Settled by Henry IV. during the execution of his grand design, iii. 429—431. See *Cleves, Political Design*.
- Council of the Regency*, Public, different from the secret council. What is debated there, v. 18. Disputes and quarrels between the nobles and ministers there, 67. Affairs that are brought before it, 75. They alter the form of Henry IV. and Sully's administration. The hatred which the members of the council bear to Sully, 81. See *Medicis (Mary of), Conchini, Lords, Princes of the Blood, Villeroy, Sillery*.
- Councils*. (Extraordinary) Reflections of Sully upon these councils, iii. 318. Upon the means of taking Amiens, iv. 14. Upon the brevet for the Taillie. See *Taillie*. Upon the proposals of the United Provinces to submit to France, 199.
- Council-General* of the christian republic, v. 143.
- Coverdon*. Victualled by the prince of Orange, iii. 283.
- Couronneau*. A protestant colonel, i. 178.
- Coronation* of Mary de Medicis. Motives which induced the malecontents to desire it, iv. 327. Henry IV's aversion to this ceremony, *ibid.* He endeavours to prevent it, 333. The queen determined to have it performed, 437. An account of this ceremony, 443.
- Courts*. (Sovereign) Oppose the registration of the edict of Nantz, ii. 261. Regulations to which they are subjected by Sully. Reflections upon them, iv. 288. New ones

I N D E X.

- ones to be established in case of necessity, 339. See *Cabinet of State*.
- Courtaumer*. (Baron de) Employed by Henry IV. in reconciling the nobles, iv. 269.
- Courtenay*. Princes and others of this name, i. 6, 7.
- Courtenay*. (Gaspard de) Engages in the interest of the princess Catherine and count de Soissons, i. 355.
- Courtenay-Bontin*. (Ann de) Sully marries her, i. 94, 95. He goes to her assistance during the plague, 127. Exposed to great dangers on account of the persecution of the protestants, 140. Her death; excessive grief of Sully upon that occasion, 169, 170.
- Courtiers*. Sooth the passion of Henry for mademoiselle d'Entragues, iii. 240. Cabal with the Jesuits against Sully, 371. Likely to succeed in their endeavours, 378. Declare themselves for the Spanish policy, iv. 112. Endeavour to prevent the expedition to Sedan, 115. Favour the interest of Spain more than that of Henry, 191. The wise measures taken by this prince to stifle their quarrels, 247. Other quarrels amongst them, 268. Spread a malicious report, that Henry endeavours to ruin them by deep play, 285. Their manner of thinking of Henry and Sully, 309. They spread malicious reports of Sully, upon account of Henry's natural children, 360. Dissatisfied with the great designs of this prince, 423. Involved in the parricide of Ravallac. See *Henry IV. Ravallac*. Endeavour to ruin Sully after the death of Henry IV. v. 14, 75, 86.
- Contras*. Henry IV. and Catherine of Medicis have a conference there, 161. The United Provinces send deputies to offer their crown to Monsieur, 77. Battle of Contras, 139. Faults committed at that battle; to what attributed, 144, 145.
- Crown*. (Battle of) Gained by the Duke of Mercœur against the royalists, i. 266.
- Creil*. Taken by the two kings, i. 171.
- Crequy*. (Charles de) Defeated and taken prisoner at Aiquebelle, ii. 12. Takes the city of Montmelian, 317. Supports Sully's opinion in the council, 347. Made governor of Montmelian, 338. Colonel of the regiment of guards, 408. Treated with great haughtiness by the duke of Epemon, 409. Henry procures a marriage between his daughter and the marquis of Rosny: preparations for it. Ingratitude afterwards to Sully, iv. 238, 239. His excessive losses at play, 285. His son proposed to be married to mademoiselle de Verneuil, 316.
- Crequy*.

I N D E X.

- Crequy.* (Frances de) Married to the marquis de Rosny: preparations for this marriage: Sully dissatisfied with it, iv. 238, 239.
- Crevecœur.* (N. de Montmorency-) In Henry's party at the battle of Ivry, i. 198. The government of Caen taken from him, iii. 212.
- Criq.* (Saint) A catholic officer, burnt in Mirande, i. 58.
- Crocans.* Defeated at Limosin by the royalists, ii. 98.
- Croisic.* A fort built by the duke of Mercœur, ii. 12.
- Croix.* (La-) Killed at taking of Ham, ii. 48.
- Cros.* (Du-) Deputy-general for the protestants at the assembly of Châtelleraut, iv. 67.
- One of those concerned in the conspiracy of La Fleche, iv. 378.
- Crussol.* See *Beaudiner*.
- Chrystal.* (Manufactory of) Established by Henry IV. iv. 12.
- Cognac.* See *Giversac*.
- Culand.* An estate purchased by Sully, v. 104.
- Cuman.* An undertaker for the management of manufactories, iii. 217.
- Cumberland.* (Earl of) One of the disaffected English lords, iii. 110.
- Curates of Paris.* Their law-suit against the Jesuits, i. 399, 400.
- Curé.* Gilbert, Filhet de La-) Attends Henry IV. to Aumale, i. 238. His eulogium, *ibid.* Present at the defeat of the convoy before Laon, 405. His opinion of this defeat, 406. At the battle of Fontaine-Françoise, praised by Henry IV. ii. 56. Great actions performed by him before Amiens, 159. Henry refuses to give him the post formerly possessed by the baron Lux, 126.
- Cusco.* (King of) His correspondence with Spain, iii. 198.
- Cusse.* Commissary in Brittany, reprimanded by Sully, iv. 218.
- Czar.* See *Muscovy*.

D.

- D'Adré* (John) Penitentiary of the church of Rouen, i. 381.
- Dagobert.* Character of that king, v. 116.
- Dampiere.* See *Lieramont*.
- Dangeau.* A protestant officer, i. 123.
- Danguin.* (Captain) Of great use in the affair of the revolt of the Moors, iv. 304.

Danfa.

I N D E X.

- Danfa.* (Simon) A Dutch corsair, iv. 317.
- Darville.* See *Montmorency.* (Henry de)
- Darville.* (Admiral de) Receives an important service from Conchini, v. 64.
- Darius.* An anecdote relating to this prince and Zopirus, iii. 226.
- Darnetal.* The quarters of Henry II. at the siege of Rouen, i. 229.
- Davailles.* Governor of Maillezais, i. 127.
- Dauphin.* His birth; rejoicings upon that account, ii. 377. Henry IV. orders La-Riviere to calculate his nativity, 379. Carried through Paris in his way to St. Germain, *ibid.* The government of Burgundy given him by Henry IV. iii. 28. Brought to Fontainebleau, and shewn in Paris, 362. His letters to madame de Montglat, iv. 104. Medals presented to him by Sully, 107. Ceremony of his baptism, 150. Queen Margaret gives up to him the estates of Catherine de Medicis, 212. Sick at Noisy, 232. Intrigues at court to procure a marriage between him and the infanta of Spain, 325. Designed by Henry for the heiress of Lorraine, 326, 350. See, for what remains of this article, *Lewis XIII.*
- Dauphiny.* Success of the royalists at this place, ii. 38. Fortresses yielded up to Henry IV. by the treaty of Lyons, 347. Process of the third estate against the clergy and nobility, ii. 49.
- Davy.* See *Perron* (Du-).
- Deagent.* Favours granted him by Mary of Medicis, v. 77.
- Debts of the State.* Contracted during the League, i. 136. Paid off by Sully, iv. 212.
- Defunctes.* Grand-provost of the Isle of France, iii. 25.
- Dele.* Taken by the prince of Orange, iii. 57.
- Delfin.* Ambassador from Venice to France, ii. 366. Henry IV. sends him ambassador to Florence, iv. 392.
- Demeurat.* Solicitor at Rome, ii. 164.
- Denis.* (Saint-) The forces of the League defeated at this place, i. 265. Henry IV. makes his abjuration there. See *Abjuration.* Grants a second truce to the Parisians, and receives an envoy from Spain, 336, 337. Escapes being assassinated there, 341. Mary of Medicis crowned there. See *Medicis.*
- Denmark.* (Kings of) Frederic III. Christian IV. See these names in the articles of *Denmark.*
- (Ann of) Queen of England. Her character and conduct, iii. 111. She comes to London in opposition to

I N D E X.

- to her husband, 131. See *James*. Vaucelas is appointed to deliver to her the letters of the king and queen of France, 185. Presents made her by Sully, 187. Her arrival in London, 191. She changes all on a sudden her conduct and policy, 194.
- (Christern IV. King of) His ambassadors in London, iii. 112. Bad policy of this court, 133. Enters into the alliance against the house of Austria, 421. Boissile sent ambassador to this prince, 429.
- Frederic II. king of) iii. 111.
- Deodati*. Sends Beza's translation of the New Testament to Sully, iv. 84.
- Deputies-general of the protestant party*. At court, iv. 34. A practice only tolerated. The origin of this custom, and regulations to be made in it, 37. Debated in the general assembly at Châtelleraut, 34. Terminated to the advantage of the king, 65. See *Châtelleraut*. The same disputed in the synod of Rochelle, 184. See *Rochelle*. In the general assembly at Gergeau. See *Gergeau*.
- Debordés*. Deputy-general of the protestants, iii. 187.
- Descures*. Farmer of the revenues, ii. 76.
- Desportes*. Treats with Sully in the name of Medavy, i. 266. Concludes the treaty, 359.
- Despuilles*. Shamefully surrenders Saint-Bazeille, i. 117. His company defeated before Rochelle, 134.
- Devese*. (La-) A singular combat proposed betwixt him and Lavardin, i. 66.
- Advocate of Castres. His services and abilities, iv. 66.
- Deuilly*. (Madame de) Mistress of De-Fresne, ii. 149.
- Devonshire*. (Earl of) ii. 370.
- Deux-Ponts*. (John, count palatine of) His right to the succession of Cleves, iv. 399. See *Cleves*.
- (John II. duke of). Visits Henry IV. at Metz, and marries there Catherine de Rohan, iii. 66. Sully accused of holding criminal correspondence with him, 404.
- (Duchess of). Presents made to her by Henry IV. iv. 13.
- Dieppe*. A skirmish before this city, i. 180.
- Diet of Ratisbon*. See *Ratisbon*.
- Dijon*. Taken by marshal Biron. ii. 38. Its parliament disobedient to the king, iv. 213. See *Bresse*.
- Dinteville*. (Joachim de) Governor of Champaign, treats with the duke of Bouillon about the surrender of Sedan iv. 132. Regretted by Henry IV. 229.

Disse-

I N D E X.

- Dissolution of the marriage of Henry IV. and Margaret of Valois.* See *Henry, Margaret.*
- Dizimieux.* Surrenders Vienne and Montluel to the king, ii. 39.
- Dolle.* (Lewis) Advocate for the curates of Paris against the Jesuits, i. 399.
- Dolle.* The queen regent admits him into her private council, v. 21.
- Domaine of the king.* Abuses corrected in it, iii. 319. Usurpations of it discovered by Sully, iv. 1. Registers of Languedoc re-united to it, 231. Sully redeems several parts of it, 218. The principal riches of the king does not consist in his domaine, 292.
- Dominge.* A protestant gentleman, i. 72.
- Donavert.* The Emperor seizes this city, iv. 306.
- Donfront.* Taken by the protestants, i. 188.
- Donon.* Controller of the buildings, iv. 230.
- (Charles). Commands the Spanish galleys in the Mediterranean, iii. 198.
- Douarnenes.* The Spaniards driven from this place, ii. 170.
- Dourdon.* (Lands of) Purchased by Sully, v. 103.
- Dourlach.* (Prince of Baden) Accused of a criminal correspondence with Sully, iii. 402.
- Dourlens.* The French defeated before this place, ii. 48. Henry IV. raises the siege of it.
- Dover.* The cause of queen Elizabeth's journey to this place, ii. 369. An account of Sully's reception there, iii. 96. His stay there after his return from London, 188.
- Dreuillet.* Engaged in the conspiracy of La-Fleché, iv. 380.
- Dreux.* Taken by Henry IV. i. 206. Retaken by Sully, 325. The government of it denied him, 326. He intercepts papers belonging to the League, 280.
- Droit-Annuel.* Different opinions upon this establishment, iv. 340.
- Drou.* (Madame de) Governess to the queen's children, iv. 105.
- Drouart.* Deprived of his post by Sully, iii. 326.
- Drauet.* An arret upon his marriage, iv. 228.
- Dukes and Peers.* Sully created duke and peer: ceremony upon this occasion, iv. 113. The duke of Bouillon endeavours in vain to obtain the precedence of them, 155. They obtain the right of entering into the courts of the Louvre in their coaches, 333. A dispute for precedence betwixt the lords temporal and spiritual determined in favour of the first, v. 18.
- Duels.* Of the duke of Bouillon and Duras. Of Breauté. See

I N D E X.

- Crequy.* (Frances de) Married to the marquis de Rosny: preparations for this marriage: Sully dissatisfied with it, iv. 238, 239.
- Crevecœur.* (N. de Montmorency-) In Henry's party at the battle of Ivry, i. 198. The government of Caen taken from him, iii. 212.
- Criq.* (Saint) A catholic officer, burnt in Mirande, i. 58.
- Crocans.* Defeated at Limosin by the royalists, ii. 98.
- Croisic.* A fort built by the duke of Mercœur, ii. 12.
- Croix.* (La-) Killed at taking of Ham, ii. 48.
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- One of those concerned in the conspiracy of La Fleche, iv. 378.
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- Culand.* An estate purchased by Sully, v. 104.
- Cuman.* An undertaker for the management of manufactories, iii. 217.
- Cumberland.* (Earl of) One of the disaffected English lords, iii. 110.
- Curates of Paris.* Their law-suit against the Jesuits, i. 399, 400.
- Curé.* Gilbert, Filhet de La-) Attends Henry IV. to Aumale, i. 238. His eulogium, *ibid.* Present at the defeat of the convoy before Laon, 405. His opinion of this defeat, 406. At the battle of Fontaine-Françoise, praised by Henry IV. ii. 56. Great actions performed by him before Amiens, 159. Henry refuses to give him the post formerly possessed by the baron Lux, 126.
- Cusco.* (King of) His correspondence with Spain, iii. 198.
- Cusse.* Commissary in Brittany, reprimanded by Sully, iv. 218.
- Czar.* See *Muscovy.*

D.

- D'Adré* (John) Penitentiary of the church of Rouen, i. 381.
- Dagobert.* Character of that king, v. 116.
- Dampiere.* See *Lieramont.*
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- Danguin.* (Captain) Of great use in the affair of the revolt of the Moors, iv. 304.

Danfa.

I N D E X.

- Danfa.* (Simon) A Dutch corsair, iv. 317.
- Darville.* See *Montmorency.* (Henry de)
- Darville.* (Admiral de) Receives an important service from Conchini, v. 64.
- Darius.* An anecdote relating to this prince and Zopirus, iii. 226.
- Darnetal.* The quarters of Henry II. at the siege of Rouen, i. 229.
- Davailles.* Governor of Maillezais, i. 127.
- Dauphin.* His birth; rejoicings upon that account, ii. 377. Henry IV. orders La-Riviere to calculate his nativity, 379. Carried through Paris in his way to St. Germain, *ibid.* The government of Burgundy given him by Henry IV. iii. 28. Brought to Fontainebleau, and shewn in Paris, 362. His letters to madame de Montglat, iv. 104. Medals presented to him by Sully, 107.^a Ceremony of his baptism, 150. Queen Margaret gives up to him the estates of Catherine de Medicis, 212. Sick at Noisy, 232. Intrigues at court to procure a marriage between him and the infanta of Spain, 325. Designed by Henry for the heirefs of Lorraine, 326, 350. See, for what remains of this article, *Lewis XIII.*
- Dauphiny.* Success of the royalists at this place, ii. 38. Fortresses yielded up to Henry IV. by the treaty of Lyons, 347. Process of the third estate against the clergy and nobility, ii. 49.
- Davy.* See *Perron* (Du-).
- Deagent.* Favours granted him by Mary of Medicis, v. 77.
- Debts of the State.* Contracted during the League, i. 136. Paid off by Sully, iv. 212.
- Defunctes.* Grand-provost of the Isle of France, iii. 25.
- Déle.* Taken by the prince of Orange, iii. 57.
- Delfin.* Ambassador from Venice to France, ii. 366. Henry IV. sends him ambassador to Florence, iv. 392.
- Demeurat.* Solicitor at Rome, ii. 164.
- Denis.* (Saint-) The forces of the League defeated at this place, i. 265. Henry IV. makes his abjuration there. See *Abjuration.* Grants a second truce to the Parisians, and receives an envoy from Spain, 336, 337. Escapes being assassinated there, 341. Mary of Medicis crowned there. See *Medicis.*
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I N D E X

- to her husband, 131. See *James*. Vaucelas is appointed to deliver to her the letters of the king and queen of France, 185. Presents made her by Sully, 187. Her arrival in London, 191. She changes all on a sudden her conduct and policy, 194.
- (Christern IV. King of) His ambassadors in London, iii. 112. Bad policy of this court, 133. Enters into the alliance against the house of Austria, 421. Boissile sent ambassador to this prince, 429.
- Frederic II. king of) iii. 111.
- Deodati*. Sends Beza's translation of the New Testament to Sully, iv. 84.
- Deputies-general of the protestant party*. At court, iv. 34. A practice only tolerated. The origin of this custom, and regulations to be made in it, 37. Debated in the general assembly at Châtelleraut, 34. Terminated to the advantage of the king, 65. See *Châtelleraut*. The same disputed in the synod of Rochelle, 184. See *Rochelle*. In the general assembly at Gergeau. See *Gergeau*.
- Debordés*. Deputy-general of the protestants, iii. 187.
- Descures*. Farmer of the revenues, ii. 76.
- Desportes*. Treats with Sully in the name of Medavy, i. 266. Concludes the treaty, 359.
- Despuilles*. Shamefully surrenders Saint-Bazille, i. 117. His company defeated before Rochelle, 134.
- Devese*. (La-) A singular combat proposed betwixt him and Lavardin, i. 66.
- Advocate of Castres. His services and abilities, iv. 66.
- Deuilly*. (Madame de) Mistress of De-Fresne, ii. 149.
- Devonshire*. (Earl of) ii. 370.
- Deux-Ponts*. (John, count palatine of) His right to the succession of Cleves, iv. 399. See *Cleves*.
- (John II. duke of). Visits Henry IV. at Metz, and marries there Catherine de Rohan, iii. 66. Sully accused of holding criminal correspondence with him, 404.
- (Duchess of). Presents made to her by Henry IV. iv. 13.
- Dieppe*. A skirmish before this city, i. 180.
- Diet of Ratisbon*. See *Ratisbon*.
- Dijon*. Taken by marshal Biron, ii. 38. Its parliament disobedient to the king, iv. 213. See *Bresse*.
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Disse-

I N D E X.

- Dissolution of the marriage of Henry IV. and Margaret of Valois.* See *Henry, Margaret.*
- Dizimieux.* Surrenders Vienne and Montluel to the king, ii. 39.
- Dolle.* (Lewis) Advocate for the curates of Paris against the Jesuits, i. 399.
- Dolle.* The queen regent admits him into her private council, v. 21.
- Domaine of the king.* Abuses corrected in it, iii. 319. Usurpations of it discovered by Sully, iv. 1. Registers of Languedoc re-united to it, 231. Sully redeems several parts of it, 218. The principal riches of the king does not consist in his domaine, 292.
- Dominge.* A protestant gentleman, i. 72.
- Donauvert.* The Emperor seizes this city, iv. 306.
- Donfront.* Taken by the protestants, i. 188.
- Donon.* Controller of the buildings, iv. 230.
- (Charles). Commands the Spanish gallies in the Mediterranean, iii. 198.
- Douarnenes.* The Spaniards driven from this place, ii. 170.
- Dourdon.* (Lands of) Purchased by Sully, v. 103.
- Dourlach.* (Prince of Baden) Accused of a criminal correspondence with Sully, iii. 402.
- Dourlens.* The French defeated before this place, ii. 48. Henry IV. raises the siege of it.
- Dover.* The cause of queen Elizabeth's journey to this place, ii. 369. An account of Sully's reception there, iii. 96. His stay there after his return from London, 188.
- Dreuillet.* Engaged in the conspiracy of La-Fleché, iv. 380.
- Dreux.* Taken by Henry IV. i. 206. Retaken by Sully, 325. The government of it denied him, 326. He intercepts papers belonging to the League, 280.
- Droit-Annuel.* Different opinions upon this establishment, iv. 340.
- Drou.* (Madame de) Governess to the queen's children, iv. 105.
- Drouart.* Deprived of his post by Sully, iii. 326.
- Drauet.* An arret upon his marriage, iv. 228.
- Dukes and Peers.* Sully created duke and peer: ceremony upon this occasion, iv. 113. The duke of Bouillon endeavours in vain to obtain the precedence of them, 155. They obtain the right of entering into the courts of the Louvre in their coaches, 333. A dispute for precedence betwixt the lords temporal and spiritual determined in favour of the first, v. 18.
- Duels.* Of the duke of Bouillon and Duras. Of Breauté. See

I N D E X.

- See these names. Edict of Henry IV. against them: sentiments of Sully upon this edict, iii. 55. His memorial upon the origin, custom, and the practices of different nations, in duels. Henry's easiness in pardoning them, the cause of their being so frequent, iv. 269. Other edicts against them, and what passed in the council on that occasion, 359.
- Dun.* Taken by the duke of Bouillon, i. 136.
- Dunes.* A French officer. Goes into the service of the arch-duke, iv. 23.
- Durand, or Haute-Fontaine.* The duke of Bouillon's agent in London, iii. 283.
- Durandiere.* (La-) Preceptor to Sully, i. 22.
- Duras.* (John de Durefort, viscount of) One of the protestant chiefs, i. 24. Charles IX. pardons him, 32. Goes over to the catholic party, 64. Fights a duel with viscount Turenne: various opinions upon this duel, 61.
- Durefort de Born.* See *Born.*
- Durefort-Rosan.* See *Rosan.*
- Duret.* (N.) One of the confidants of Mary of Medicis, iv. 168, 249. Of her secret council, v. 21.
- Duret.* (Claud) Advocate for the Jesuits against the university and curates of Paris, i. 399.
- Duret.* (Lewis and Charles) Authors of the third party, i. 285. Sully treats with them, 298.

E.

- EAST,** Sully's opinion of this empire, v. 116.
- Eause.* Taken by Henry IV. i. 53.
- Eclipse of the Sun,* in 1605, iii. 372.
- Edict.* Of sixty-three articles. See *Beaulieu, Protestants:* Of July, in favour of the League, i. 99. See *Nemours* (Treaty of), *Henry III. League.* Of the 21st of July, still more advantageous, 157. Of Nantz. See *Nantz.* Upon the money. See *Money.* Petty edicts granted to private persons destructive to commerce, iii. 325. For the defence of commerce with Spain. See *Spain; Commerce, Thirty per cent.* See likewise *Arrats, Regulations, and Treaties.*
- Edifices.* Built or repaired by Henry IV. iii. 78. Sums expended in these works, iv. 212. In the city of Paris, 284.
- Edmonds.* Queen Elizabeth's agent in France. Sent by her to Calais, to compliment Henry IV. ii. 367.
- Edward*

I N D E X.

Edward III. (King of England) Sentiments of Sully upon this prince, iv. 313.

Edouville. (N. d') ii. 16. Defeats the forces of the League, 38.

Edmond. Earls and counts of this name; their rights to the duchy of Guelders, iv. 396.

Egmont. (Amoral d') Beheaded at Brussels, i. 194.

Egmont. Count (of) His valour at Ivry: killed there, i. 194. See *Ivry*.

Eguillon. (Henry de Lorraine, duke of) Satisfies Henry with regard to his brother, iv. 265. See *Sommerive*, *Moret* (Countess of). Procures Baldagny to be assassinated, 268. See *Baldagny* (Damien). Quarrels with Conchini and the ministers, v. 69. Grants made him by Mary of Medicis, 77.

Elbeuf. (Claude de Lorraine, duke of) Commands the army of the League in Normandy, i. 99. Fights for Henry IV. at Fontaine-François, ii. 55. Sum received by him on making his treaty, 496. Attends Henry IV. in his expedition to Savoy, ii. 341.

Electors. Henry IV's design of restoring them to all their privileges, v. 139.

Elizabeth of France, Queen of Spain, suspected of having been poisoned by Philip II. i. 16.

Elizabeth. Queen of England. Negotiations to induce her to marry Monsieur, i. 16. Sends an army to the assistance of Henry IV. 183. She demands Calais, which she refuses her, ii. 63. Sends an embassy to this prince, to dissuade him from the treaty of Vervins, 170—177. Comes to Dover, 367. Beheads Essex: her conversation with marshal Biron on this subject, 391. Motives for her journey to Dover. Letters which passed between Henry IV. and her upon this occasion, 367. See *Political Design*. Subdues the rebels in Ireland, 397. Congratulates Henry IV. upon his quelling Biron's conspiracy, iii. 41. Her death: Henry's grief for it: her elogium, 76. A treaty of commerce made by her with Charles IX. 89. King James endeavours to tarnish her memory, 120. Her policy praised, 131. Supports the English priests against the Spanish cabal, 147. The king of England speaks contemptuously of her and her council, 153. See *James*. A saying of this princess upon the union of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, 172. Debts contracted during the League by

Vol. V.

U

Henry

I N D E X:

- Henry IV. to her, iv. 7. Her share in the contrivance and disposition of the grand design, v. 126.
- Eloi.* (Saint-) Taken by Joyeuse, iii. 12.
- Emden.* The Spaniards, in vain, endeavour to make themselves masters of this place, iii. 59—66.
- Emilion.* (Saint-) Taken by Henry IV. i. 63.
- Emperors.* Charles IV. Charles V. Frederic III. Ferdinand, Maximilian I. Maximilian IV. Rodolphus. See these names.
- Empire and Emperor.* Their true policy with regard to Spain, iii. 169. 171. Henry IV. is supposed to aim at being Emperor, iv. 26. Pretensions of several Emperors upon Cleves, 396. Henry's grand design in regard to the Empire and Emperor. Their true rights established. See *Political Design*.
- England* (Kings of) Elizabeth, queen of England, James, Edward III. See these names.
- (Prince of). See *Wales*.
- (Anne of Denmark, queen of). See *Denmark*.
- England and English.* The protestants deliver Havre de Grace to the English, i. 40. An English army comes to the assistance of Henry IV. 185. Serve him at the siege of Rouen. See *Rouen*. The English assist marshal d'Aumont in Brittany, ii. 11. See *Aumont*. They join France against Spain in the war of 1595, 35, but do no great service. A conversation between Henry IV. and the English and Dutch ambassadors, 177. See *Cecil*. Henry takes the farms of his revenues out of the hands of the English, 234. Piracies committed by the English upon the French vessels, iii. 94. Sully insulted by their vice-admiral, 95. The character of the English, ib. They hate the French, 106. A continuation of the character of that people, 105. The manner in which we ought to act with them, 106. The English jealous of the Scots, 132. Pretended claims of England upon Normandy, Guienne, Poitou, 136. Elizabeth supports the English clergy against the Spanish faction, 145. The manner in which the king of England is served at table, 153. Opposition made by the English ministers to Sully's negotiation, and to the interests of the United Provinces, 157. Sully complains of them to king James, 163. Presents made by Sully to the principal lords and ladies of the English court, 187. A conspiracy in London against king James, 196.

I N D E X.

196. Henry gives pensions and presents to the ministers and noblemen in this court, 198. The English take advantage of the prohibition of commerce between France and Spain, 332. Treaty between England and Spain, 345. State of the debts of France to England during the League, iv. 7. Another conspiracy against king James, 43. Paul V. forbids the English to take an oath of fidelity to king James, 208. Debts of France to England, 212. Jeannin is appointed ambassador to England during the war of Cleves, 430. Part of the great design relating to this kingdom, v. 75. Forces and money to be contributed by the English, 82. See also the names mentioned in this article.

Enbalt. (Prince of) Brings the German forces to Henry IV. at the siege of Rouen, i. 227. It is proposed to marry the princess Catherine to him, ii. 255. Sully accused of holding a criminal correspondence with him, 116. He joins in the great design, v. 147.

Entragues. (Catherine Henrietta de Balzac d') See *Verneuil* (Marchioness of).

——— (Francis de Balzac d'). His intrigues with the catholics against Henry IV. 293. He introduces the Spanish ambassador to Henry IV. and Sully, 339. See *Nugnes*. He cabals against Henry, 393, 399. Thwarts Henry's love for his daughter. See *Verneuil* (Marchioness of). Enters into an association with Bouillon, Biron, and Auvergne, and endeavours to raise an insurrection, ii. 385. 391. His intrigues at the court of London, iii. 119. Farther account of his intrigues, 260, 282, 296. Procures a marshal's staff, 298. Arrested, 304. Anecdote concerning Henry's love for his second daughter, 313. Motives which induced Henry IV. to pardon him, 366, &c. Desirous of giving him his liberty, 369. Accused of being an accomplice in Ravillac's parricide, iv. 461.

——— (Mary Touchet, countess of). See *Touchet*.

Entry. See *Coronation of Mary of Medicis*.

Entries and Tithes, more reasonable than any other tax, iv.

5. Regulations concerning them, 340.

Entremont. (Jaqueline de Montbel, countess of) Marries the admiral Coligny, i. 16.

Epernai. Besieged and taken by Henry IV. i. 275.

Epernon. (John Lewis de Nogaret de La Valette, duke of) i. 2. The Rochellers refuse to admit him into their city, 49. He advises Henry III. to suffer his guards to assassinate the duke of Guise, 151. Made admiral and gover-

I N D E X.

nor of Normandy, 155. Quits Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. 176. His character; hated of Henry IV. and his behaviour in Provence, 267, 268. Bad conduct of his forces at Villemur, 272. One of the favourites of Henry III. ii. 15. Sully justifies himself against his complaints of him, 24. Accusations brought against him, 27, 28. Lefdiguieres and the duke of Guise drive him out of Provence: he submits to the king, 100. The sum given him for his treaty, 230. His cruelty in Provence, 231. Quarrels with Sully in the council; Henry IV. obliges him to ask pardon of this minister, 232, 234. Henry IV. writes to him upon the dispute betwixt Du Perron and Du-Plessis Mornay, 309. He opposes Sully in the affair of Savoy, 321, 333. Sully justifies him, and prevents his being arrested in the affair of marshal Biron: he gives him good advice, which Epernon follows, iii. 15, 41. Obligated to take the government of Metz from the So-beles, 62. Treated favourably by Henry IV. 295. Friendship for him. *ibid.* The affair betwixt him, Sully and Grillon, for a colonel's commission, 401. Terminated by Sully to Henry's satisfaction, 408. His excessive haughtiness to the marquis de Crequi, 409. He commands the king's forces at Limosin, iv. 77. A rupture betwixt him and Sully, upon account of the city of Rochelle, 89. Summoned to the council upon the enterprize of Sedan, 123. Favours the jesuits in opposition to the city of Metz, 151. His quarrel with Montigny, 269. Loses at play, 285. Obtains the privilege of having his coach driven into the court of the Louvre, 333. Opposes Sully with regard to the armament of Cleves, 414. Coman accuses him of being engaged in Ravallac's conspiracy, 437. A remarkable speech of his to the president de Harlay, 462. Makes an offer of his services to Sully after the death of Henry IV. v. 14. Mary of Medicis admits him into her secret council, 21. He votes for an alliance with Spain, contrary to the maxims of the last reign, 45. He unites himself with the prince of Condé, 67, 69. Quarrels with the nobles and ministers, 72. With Conchini, 75. Grants made him by the queen regent, 77. Opposes Sully, 86. *Epinoi.* (William de Melun, prince of) Sully takes the guardianship of him upon himself, ii. 294. His brother killed by Rambures, iv. 180. Sully obliges the princess of Ligne to do him justice, and make restitution of his estates, 384. See *Arch-duke. Treaty of Truce.*

I N D E X

- Epinoi.* (Henry de Melun d') Killed by Rambures: Henry IV. and Sully drop that affair, iv. 180.
- (Hippolita de Montmorency, princess of) Brings her children to Paris, and puts them under the guardianship of Sully, ii. 294. Refuses her consent to the marriage of the marquis de Cœuvres with mademoiselle de Melun, iii. 415.
- (Peter de Melun, prince of). Sully takes the guardianship of his children upon himself, ii. 294.
- (Robert de Melun, prince of). Is favoured by Monsieur, in opposition to Sully, i. 59.
- Erard.* Engineer to Henry IV. Tenders an unseasonable service to the elector Palatine, iii. 212. Endeavours to turn Henry IV. from the enterprise of Sedan, iv. 116. The cause of the discontent which he gives to Henry and Sully, 127, 182.
- The son of the beforementioned Erard. His death greatly lamented by Sully, iv. 225.
- Erkel.* The claims of this house upon the duchy of Cleves, iv. 396. See *Cleves*.
- Ernest of Austria.* Arch-duke. Answers for the king of Spain to the proposals made by the League and the duke of Maienne, i. 283. The Spanish ambassadors and the Pope's legate offer to elect him king of France in the assembly of the states of Paris, 298.
- Escoman.* See *Coman*.
- Escoubleau.* See *Sourdis*.
- Escures.* (Peter Fougen d') Of great use in the seizing of marshal Biron, iii. 8, 15. and the count of Auvergne, 296, 394. Summoned to the council upon the affair of Sedan, iv. 316. Receives a gratuity from Henry IV. 356.
- Esperian,* Commissary in Guyenne, iv. 152.
- Espinec.* (Peter de) Archbishop of Lyons. His death, ii. 269.
- Essards.* (Charlotte des) Mistress to Henry IV. iv. 223. His children by her; and some circumstances relating to her life, ib. Sully disengages him from her, 259. Gratuity granted her by Henry, 357.
- Essex.* (Robert D'Evreux, earl of) Brings some powerful succours to Henry IV. at the siege of Rouen, 227. Offers to fight admiral Villars in a single duel. Beheaded by Elizabeth, ii. 391.
- (Earl of) The friendship of king James for him, iii. 133.
- Estampes.* Taken by the two kings, i. 147. Retaken by Henry IV. 156.

I N D E X.

Esouteville. (Messieurs d') Sully purchases Villebon of them, v. 184.

Estrees. Sully's opinion of this family, iii. 414.

Estrees. (Angelica d') Abbess of Maubisson, ii. 77.

— (Francis Anibal d'). See *Cœuvres*.

— (Gabriella d') Called successively, The fair Gabriella, Madam de Liancourt, Marchioness of Monceaux, and Duchess of Beaufort, i. 172. Henry's passion for her, 219. Leads his army into Picardy, that he may visit her, 264. Her motives to wish for his conversion, 329. Regrets the death of the superintendant D'O, ii. 17. Anecdotes relating to her amours with Henry IV. and her marriage with M. de Liancourt, 31. See *Liancourt*, *Alibour*, *Sancy*. Her design of getting Franche-Comté for her son, 39. See *Vendôme* (Cæsar de). She procures the government of La Fere for him, 73. The danger she escaped in her journey to meet the king at Amiens, 80. She favours Sully's admission into the council of finances, 102. Obtains the post of grand master of the ordnance for her father, 160. See *Estrees* (John Antony d'). She lends money to Henry IV. 160. Her motive for soliciting a pardon for the duke of Mercœur, 169. Sully dissuades Henry from marrying her, 187—190. Her plots to engage the pope in her interest, 201. She causes her son to be baptized with the ceremony of a son of France, 204. See *Bourbon* (Alexander de). A quarrel between her and Sully upon this occasion: Henry reconciles them, 208. She takes advantage of Henry's sickness to forward her design, 210. Her great weakness with respect to astrology, and the predictions that are made her, 248. An account of what passed at her separation from Henry IV. at Fontainebleau, 272. Her discourse to the duke and duchess of Sully: her imprudence in speaking of herself, 273. Circumstances relating to her death; different opinions on this subject, 279. Henry's excessive grief for her death, 280. Sully endeavours to comfort him, ib. Circumstances relating to the life of the duchess of Beaufort: her good qualities, 281. After her death, the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Margaret earnestly solicited, 286. She had been engaged in the interests of the duke of Savoy in the affair of the marquissate of Saluces, 301. Her children by Henry, iv. 247.

Estrees. (John Antony de) Father of the fair Gabriella, i. 219. Made grand master of the ordnance, ii. 297. Resigns this post to the duke of Sully. In whose fa-

I N D E X.

favour the king declares it one of the great offices of the crown, 297.

Estrees. (Julietta Hippolita de). See *Villars* (Duchess of.).

Etienne. (Saint) A protestant gentleman, escapes at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29.

Eu. (City of) Taken by Henry IV. i. 178.

Europe. Reflections upon the abuses that prevail in it, with regard to war, and upon its true policy, iii. 128. Idea and strength of the different factions into which it is divided, 223. Designs of the house of Austria upon this part of the world, iv. 110, 111. See *Charles V.* *Philip II.* *Universal Monarchy.* The necessity of changing the political system, v. 120. Henry's views by his great design: its utility for all Europe, 125. The divisions of its states and kingdoms, 143. See *Political Design.*

Eure, or *Erre.* (N. de) Contributes towards seizing the count of Auvergne, iii. 304.

Evora. (Don Diego de) Leaves Paris at the surrender of that city to Henry IV. i. 375. See *Spaniards,* *League.*

F.

FACHON. (Antony) The council of finances purchase the farms under his name, ii. 2.

Farms. (Large) Sully takes them out of the hands of foreigners and the French lords: the method and order he puts them in, ii. 234.—iii. 326. His labours in this part of the government, iv. 1, 2, 3. See also *Finances,* *Gabelle,* *Aides,* &c.

Favas. A protestant officer, i. 48. Present at the battle of Coutras, 141.

Faye La-. A protestant preacher: Henry IV's answer to him, i. 329.

— (La-). Mentioned in the affair of Adrienne de Fresne, iv. 148.

— (La-). A supposititious letter signed with this name, iv. 377.

Foyolle. Governor of Chizai for the League, i. 121.

— (Bertrand de Melet de) Commands the artillery at the siege of Rouen, i. 229.

Fenouillet. Sully secures the bishopric of Montpellier for him, iv. 287.

Ferdinand I. of Austria. Emperor: Philip II. endeavours to deprive him of the empire, ii. 247.

Ferdinand II. of Austria. King of the Romans, and of Hungary, iv. 399.

I N D E X.

- Ferdinand of Castile.* Proposed by Sully to Henry IV. as an example for him to follow, iv.
- Fere.* (La-) Taken by the protestants, i. 65. Retaken by Montignon, 114. A great convoy of Spaniards defeated near this city. See *Laon. Biron.* Henry begins the siege of it, ii. 69. Circumstances relating to this siege: a great causeway built: Henry seized with an indisposition: the place surrenders, 72.
- Feria.* (Laurent Suarés de Figueroa, duke of) Plenipotentiary from Spain to the States of Paris: his plots, and the errors he commits there, i. 310. See *League, States of Paris, &c.* Leaves Paris upon its surrendering to Henry IV. 375. His speech of Henry IV. and Henry's of him, 376.
- Fernandes.* (Edward) A Portuguese banker, lends money to Henry IV. and the courtiers for play, iv. 285. The debts Henry owed him discharged, 356.
- Ferrand.* An officer of the chamber of accounts, prosecuted by Sully, iv. 355.
- Ferrier.* A protestant minister, one of those concerned in the sedition. iii. 213. (Du) Deputed to Sully by the assembly of Chatelleraut, iii. 81.
- Ferriere.* (La) A disaffected protestant, iii. 323.
- Ferté-Milon.* Besieged by Henry IV. i. 347.
- Fervagues.* (Andrea d'Allegre, countess of) Endeavours to procure a marriage between her son and mademoiselle de Sully, ii. 138. Henry IV. causes this marriage to be broken off, iii. 212. See *Laval (Guy de), Bethune (Margaret de).*
- (William de Hautemer de Grancey de). Marshal of France, sent to the court of Henry III. to demand the princess Catherine, i. 48—77—81. Demands mademoiselle de Sully in marriage for M. de Laval, ii. 138. See *Laval (Guy de), Bethune (Margaret de).* Sully's friendship for him calumniated, iv. 38. Summoned to the council upon the designed expedition to Sedan, 123. Cured of a dangerous indisposition, 287. Appointed one of the members of the council of regency by Henry IV. 431.
- Fescamp.* Taken by the League, and retaken in a very extraordinary manner by Bois-rosé: a dispute about this fort, i. 344. See *Villars (Admiral de), Biron.*
- Feugeres.* Attached to Sully, ii. 333.
- Feuquieres.* (N. de Pas de) A protestant officer, i. 108, 123. Slain at the battle of Ivry, 195.

Feydeau.

I N D E X.

Feydeau. (Denis) Farmer-general of the Aides: his process against the city of Lyons, iv. 220.

Fiefs. Masculine and feminine, make a very important distinction for the duchy of Cleves and the United Provinces, iv. 396. See *Cleves*.

Figeac. Surprized and abandoned by the royalists, i. 65.

Fin. (James de La) His character, ii. 393. Betrays Biron, 394. His examination and depositions, in which he impeaches Sully, 394. Continues to deceive Biron, iii.

15. Du-Perron solicits his return into France, iv. 18.

—— (Prégent de La) Viscount of Chartres. See *Chartres*.

Finances, and Financiers. Disorder in the finances, and a new council established, i. 205. Rogueries of the financiers, and causes of the abuses in the finances, ii. 32—73. Hatred of the financiers to Sully. See *Council*. Their fraudulent practices, 104. They endeavour to impose upon him, but do not succeed, 108. Sully's labours in the finances, 117, 118. He undertakes to produce a reformation in the finances, 212. A fine portrait of a good manager of the finances, 214. See *Ministers*. The finances of France charged with excessive debts, 226, 230. Foreigners excluded from any share in the farms, 232. The frauds committed in the finances examined into: alterations made in the management of them, 238. The post of superintendant of the finances established in favour of Sully, 268. Regulations made in this part of the revenue, &c. 352. Against the luxury and excessive wealth of the financiers, 358. Offices of the finances suppressed, 361. Sully prosecutes the fraudulent financiers, iii. 66. Luxury and magnificence of the financiers, 221. Several operations of Sully in the finances, 319. His great care and assiduity in the discharge of this office, 325—399. His labours in the finances. General abstracts of them presented by him to Henry IV. iv. 163, 168. Other details and operations: the debts owing to the contractors acquitted, &c. 215. New regulations made by Sully in the finances, 288. Memoirs and schemes upon this subject. See *Cabinet of State*, 336. Methods of raising money in cases of necessity, 340. Many different affairs and details of the finances, 355. The form of government in the finances totally changed after the death of Henry IV. v. 21.

Flanders, the Low Countries, United Provinces. Charles IX,

I N D E X.

IX. sends an army thither: deceives the protestants, i. 16. Catherine de Medicis endeavours to obtain the sovereignty of the Low Countries for the duke of Anjou, 76. Origin of the revolt of the United Provinces, ib. They offer themselves to the archduke Matthias; afterwards to Monsieur, ib. The expedition of that prince to Flanders, 80. The treachery at Antwerp renders him odious, 86. The Flemmings send fifty vessels to the assistance of Henry IV. while he is engaged in the siege of Rouen, 180. They are very useful to him at this siege, 182. Unite with France against Spain in the war of 1595, ii. 1, 39. A conversation of Henry IV. with their ambassador, 178. See *Nassau*, *Nantz*, &c. Philip II. gives these provinces as a portion with his daughter the Infanta Isabella. The archduke Albert renews the war, 254. Henry IV. succours them privately, 293. Albert loses the battle of Newport, 350. Expeditions during this war, 371. Henry IV. sends them troops secretly, 385. The defeat of Spinola's squadron, and a farther account of this war, iii. 59—72. The deputies from the states general to the court of London meet with a bad reception from James, 112. Sully's conversation with these deputies, 115. See *Barnevelt*, *La-Fontaine*, &c. A proposal said to be made by Spain to the United Provinces, to unite themselves with her against France, 139. Sully represents to the king of England the necessity of supporting them, 142; but the council of this prince oppose his arguments, 149. See *Cecil*. Several conferences on this subject, 155. Sully, in a private conference with James, again insists upon this point, 163. Methods proposed for driving out the Spaniards from the Low Countries, 172. The king of England promises to assist them, and receives their ambassadors favourably, 174. Form of the treaty in which the kings of France and England provide for their mutual defence. They reject the proposals made them by Spain, 221. Beat the Spanish fleet twice, 229; and likewise the Portuguese gallies, 248. Their concern in the affair of thirty *per cent.* 338. They defend themselves bravely against Spain: the war very expensive to them: their obligations to France, 339. Spain seems to treat them favourably, with a view to make an agreement with England, 344, 353. Malicious report raised against Sully, accusing him with carrying on criminal

I N D E X.

- criminal correspondencies with the Flemmings, 402. Debts contracted by France to them during the league, iv. 8. Farther account of their wars with Spain, 22. The first proposals towards a peace or a truce, 170. Henry IV. by advice of Sully, refuses to receive the towns in hostage, and other offers made him by the States, 172. The Dutch present the king, by Aërsens, their agent, an account of the voyage they had lately made to the East-Indies, 172. The United Provinces renew the offers they had made to Henry IV. to submit themselves to the French domination, and to give certain towns in hostage, which Sully dissuades him from accepting, 198. A great naval battle gained by them against the Spaniards, 200. The treaty for a suspension of arms concluded, 203, 206. A long truce negotiated, 296. The ingratitude of the Flemmings to Henry IV. 299. The succours he gives them, 382. Treaty for a truce, and the mediation of the kings of France and England, 383. Contains an article in favour of the prince of Epinoy, 386. The United Provinces join the confederate princes assembled at Hall upon the affair of Cleves, 411; and assist them in taking Juliers, v. 54. That part of the great design which related to them, consisted in erecting them into a republic, 134, 143. What forces they agree to contribute towards its execution, 151. See *Belgic Republic, Political Design, &c.*
- (Antient counts of). The family of Béthune descended from them, i. 6. iv. 19.
- Fleche.* (La) Henry's journey thither, ii. 112. He gives that house to the jesuits, iii. 241. His liberalities to them, iv. 146. He consents that his heart should be deposited in their chapel: a bon mot on this occasion, 190. A gratuity granted by Henry IV. to this college, 316. Another denied by Sully, 320. A conspiracy formed in this city against Henry's life, 380.
- Fleix.* (Le) Catherine de Medicis and Henry IV. have a conference there, i. 61. The peace between this prince and Monsieur concluded there, 78.
- Flessingue.* The hatred which the inhabitants of this place, bear to the English, iii. 345.
- Fleury.* The children of France reside in this house, iv. 156.
- (Stephen). Counsellor of parliament, deputed to the states of Paris: maintains there the rights of Henry IV. to the crown of France, i. 315. Employed in the

I N D E X.

- the conversion of this prince, 320. Draws up the process against marshal Biron, iii. 23.
- Florence.* See *Tuscany, Medicis.*
- Flour.* (Saint) The count of Auvergne designs to seize it, ii. 393.
- Foix.* Henry IV. carries the court of Catherine de Medicis to that province, i. 64.
- (House of). Henry IV. has a law-suit with the family of Nevers for the estates of this house, iv. 218.
- Folembray.* (Forest of) Sully riding out there to take the air discovers the Spanish army, and gives notice of their approach to Henry IV. i. 409.
- Font.* (La) Sully's valet de chambre procures him the acquaintance of mademoiselle de Courtenay, and persuades him to marry her, i. 94. Employed by Sully to prevail upon admiral Villars to treat with Henry IV. 234. He enters again into Sully's service after the death of Villars, ii. 50, 80. Employments and gratuities bestowed upon him by Henry IV. iv. 355. The advice which Sully gives him upon his quitting the administration, v. 92.
- Fontaine.* (La) Deputed from the United Provinces to the court of London: his conversation with Sully, iii. 111. See *Barneveldt, &c.*
- Fontaine-Françoise.* (Battle of) ii. 53.
- Fontaine-Martel.* (Francis de) Governor of Neuchâtel for the League, i. 178. Not able to prevent the taking of Louvres, 223.
- Fontainebleau.* Henry IV. in danger of his life there, i. 341. A phantom, called the Great-Hunter, appears there, ii. 343. Henry IV. first hears of the death of the duchess of Beaufort there. See *Estrees* (Gabriella de). Gives a magnificent reception to the duke of Savoy there, 298. A dispute between Du-Perron and Du-Plessis at that castle, 305. Henry makes a discovery there of L'Hote's treason, iii. 245. Henry IV. embellishes that place, iv. 8. Makes frequent journies thither, 90. Orders the ceremony of the baptism of the children of France to be performed there, 156. His stay there at different times, 177, 231. New embellishments made there by Henry IV. 284.
- Fontange.* His daughter forceably carried away: he besieges the castle of Pierrefort, iv. 226.
- Fontenay-Le-Comte.* Taken by the duke of Montpensier, i. 43. Besieged and retaken by Henry IV. A comical adventure which happens during this siege, 123, 124.
- Fontenay.*

I N D E X.

Fontenay. (John de Rohan de) Makes his escape during the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29.

Fontenelles. (Guy-Eder de Beaumanoir, baron of) Broke upon the wheel, iii. 28.

Fontrailles. (Astrac de) Has a suit at law with Henry IV. for the earldom of Armagnac, i. 164.

Force. (James Nompars de Caumont, duke de La-) Implores a pardon for marshal Biron of the king, iii. 26. Supports Sully's advice with regard to the expedition of Sedan, iv. 124. A quarrel between his family and that of St. Germain, 269. The services he does the king in Navarre and Béarn, 349.

— (Madame de La-) Serves Sully with the princess Catherine, ii. 97.

Forget. (Peter) See *Fresne* (De).

— (President). Draws up the contract for the purchase of Monceaux for the queen, ii. 380.

— One of Sully's enemies at court, iii. 398.

Fors. (N. de) A protestant gentleman, i. 110.

Fortifications. Built or repaired by Henry IV. after the peace of Vervins, ii. 221. Sums delivered out of the treasury by Sully for that purpose, iv. 212.

— (Superintendence of) and buildings, given to Sully, ii. 223, 268. General abstracts presented by him to the king concerning them, 276, 282.

Fosse. (La) A contractor for re-uniting the Domaine, iv. 212.

Fosseuse. Takes Mende, ii. 177.

— (Mademoiselle de). Beloved by Henry IV. i. 61.

Foucrainville. A village, where the battle of Ivry was fought. See *Ivry*.

Fountains. Built or repaired in Paris by Henry IV. iv. 161. See *Edifices*.

Fouquierolles. A protestant officer, i. 121. Present at the siege of Laon, and the defeat of the great convoy, 405.

Fouquet (William). See *Varenne* (La):

Fourcy. An officer of the household of Henry IV. iv. 164 —168. Purchases the superintendence of the buildings from Sully, v. 104.

Fourges. A gentleman in Sully's service, causes Gizors to be taken, j. 214. His father is seized by Sully with a boat richly laden, 229.

Foussac. (Raymond de Sognac de) Solicits a pardon of Henry IV. for several gentlemen concerned in the rebellion, iv. 78.

Foy.

I N D E X.

Foy. (Saint) A protestant synod held in this city, ii. 7.
France. The deplorable condition to which the civil wars had reduced this kingdom, i. 164, 165. The true policy to be pursued by her, 179. Henry labours, in conjunction with Sully, to restore her to her former grandeur, ii. 227. Policy of Philip II. with respect to France, 245. What her conduct ought to be with respect to England, iii. 107. Her provinces threatened by an union between Spain and England, 136. The fertility and other advantages of this kingdom, 219. Arts and professions to be cultivated in it, 223. Sully's opinion upon the character and policy of some of her kings, 330. Opulence and plenty brought into France by Henry IV. iv. 6. Usages and customs observed there in duels, 96. A restitution of the usurpations made on its frontiers by Spain and Lorrain, 287. Reflections upon her kings, her different governments, &c. 292. Origin of her monarchy, v. 114. Advantages of her situation: judgment upon her wars and government, 116. See *France (Kings of)*, *Descent*, *Government*, *Police*, &c. What policy fittest to be pursued by her, 119. The great design of Henry IV. considered with respect to this kingdom, 131. Her religion, 133. And policy, 141. Forces and money to be employed on this occasion, 151. See *Political Design*.

—— (House of) Sully's sentiments upon the alliances of this house with those of the other princes of Europe, iii. 349. See *Bourbon (House of)*.

—— (Kings of). Merovius, Childeric, Clovis, Clotaire I. Clotaire II. Sigebert, Dagobert, Charles-Martel, Pepin-le-Bref, Charlemagne, Lewis Le-Debonnaire, Lothario, Hugh Capet, Lewis VI. Lewis VII. Philip Augustus, St. Lewis, Philip Le-Bel, Philip de Valois, John I. Charles V. Charles VI. Charles VII. Lewis XI. Charles VIII. Lewis XII. Francis I. Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. See these names. Lewis XIII. See this name, and *Dauphin*.

—— (Children of). The ceremony of their baptism, iv. 154. Their residence at Noisy, 231. Henry's tenderness for them, ib. Their sickness in the year 1608, 280. Henry's great tenderness for them, ibid. 380. Their fondness for Sully, v. 74. Women and officers about their persons, their grief for Henry's death, ib. See the four following articles.

France.

I N D E X.

France. (Christina of). Second daughter of Henry IV. The ceremony of her baptism, iv. 154. Henry designs to marry her to the prince of Wales, iv. 326.

—— (Elizabeth of). Eldest daughter of Henry IV. her birth, iii. 56. She falls sick: recovers, 85. Henry designs to marry her to the son of the duke of Savoy, iv. 112. Ceremony of her baptism, 154. She is seized with another indisposition, 292. Henry's scheme for her marriage, 326.

—— (Gaston-John-Baptiste of). Third son of Henry IV. duke of Anjou, afterwards of Orleans. See *Orleans* (Duke of).

—— (N. of). Second son of Henry IV. duke of Orleans See *Orleans* (Duke of).

Franche-Comté. The campaign made by Henry IV. in this province reckoned superior to all others: towns taken, and other military expeditions during this campaign, ii. 51. See *Fontaine-Françoise*. A restitution made of the Spaniards usurpations upon this frontier: as likewise of those of Lorraine, iv. 287.

Franchiset. (Don Juan-Idiaque) His correspondence with Nicholas L'Hôte, iii. 245.

Francis I. King of France: the cause of his losing the battle of Pavia, ii. 72. Value of the taille under his reign, iv. 295. He assists the German princes against Charles IV. 406.

Francis II. King of France, gives an uncontrolled power to the house of Guise: his death: a saying of Francis duke of Guise concerning this prince, i. 13. Value of the taille under his reign, iv. 295.

Francourt. (Gervas Barbier de) Chancellor to the king of Navarre, one of those who advise him to go to the court of France, i. 18. Murdered at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 34.

Franks, or French. Origin of their settlements and of their monarchy in Gaul, v. 114.

Frederick III. Emperor. The house of Austria, through him, claims a right to the succession of Cleves.

French. Their character: their licentiousness among foreigners, iii. 102. Their advantages over all other European nations, 341. Their passion for duels, iv. 96. Their character with respect to government, policy, &c. 292. See *France*.

Fresne. (Adriana de) Supposed to be possessed by a dæmon:

I N D E X.

- a quartel on this occasion between Sully and Father Cotton, iv. 172.
- Fresne.* (Leon de) Seizes Angers for the protestant party: loses it again, and is slain there, i. 16.
- (Peter Forget de). Secretary of state, i. 206. Made one of the members of the new council of finances, 31—33, 105. Supports the fraudulent financiers, 109. Quarrels with Sully, ii. 148. Devoted to the interests of the duchess of Beaufort, 204, 221. Cause of his enmity to Sully, iii. 398. iv. 34. Favours the Jesuits on occasion of the dispute which happened between the Rochellers and father Seguiran, iv. 189. The letter he writes after the prince of Condé's flight, 378.
- Friers and Monks.* They form themselves into a regiment at the siege of Paris, i. 209. Endeavours to ruin Henry IV. 341. See *Jesuits, Capuchins*. A great many religious orders established by Clement VIII. iii. 213. Others who fix in France, 362.
- Friezland.* The prince of Orange defends this province against the Spaniards, iv. 23.
- Frontenac.* A protestant officer: his quarrel with Sully, ii. 51. ii. 143, 144, 193.
- Frontiers.* Sully causes plans to be drawn of them, and obliges the Spaniards and the duke of Lorraine to make a restitution of those places they had usurped there, iv. 287.
- Fuentes.* (Count of) Defeats the Spaniards at Dourlens, ii. 46. Opposes the conclusion of the treaty of Lyons, ii. 51. Corresponds with marshal Biron, iii. 41. Takes possession of the marquisate of Final, 59. Continues to cabal against France, 201. The fort of Fuentes built. See *Grifons, Valteline* (La). Miscarries at the assembly of Coir, 356. His cabals among the Grifons, iv. 207. See *Spain*.

G.

- GABELLE.** Henry IV. occasions some murmurs by his design of establishing this tax over all the kingdom, iii. 2. Sully's maxims with respect to this branch of the finances, iv. 4, 5. Several regulations, 216. Augmentations to be made in it when necessary, 340. See *Salt, Salt-pits*.
- Gabriella.* (The fair) See *Estrées* (Gabriella de).
- Gadagne.* See *Botheon*.

Gadancourt.

I N D E X:

Godancourt. (N. de) Defeats the forces of the League, ii. 38. Goes with Sully to London, iii. 103.

Gages. For combat. See *Duel*.

Gaillon. Henry IV. designs to purchase this house, ii. 15.

Galaty. A Swiss colonel: the saying of Henry IV. to him at the battle of Arques, i. 154.

Galerande. (George de Clermont d'Amboise, de) i. 110.

Galigai. (Stephen) Obtains the archbishopric of Tours, v. 29. An account of his person and character, ib.

Galigali. (Leonora) Comes into France in the queen's train, ii. 350. See *Italians*. Henry IV. dislikes both her and her husband, iii. 369, 374. She marries Conchini: Henry intends to send them to Italy, which the queen will not consent to, iv. 255. See *Conchini*. She engages in the conspiracies against the designs and life of Henry IV. 327. Gratuities procured for her by the queen, 356. Admitted into the secret council of the queen regent, v. 21. See *Medicis* (Mary de). Whose favourite she is, 54. She quarrels with the nobles and ministers of state, 92.

Gallies. Built and maintained by Henry II. 138. Armament of gallies fitted out by Sully: the captains of gallies sued by him, iv. 225. See *Marine*.

Garnache. (Nicholas Rouhault de) A protestant lord, i. 24. Charles IX. grants him his life, 32.

Gand. (Viscount of). See *Melun*.

Gap. (Synod of) Where the protestants propose the doctrine that the Pope is antichrist, iii. 213. The doctrine of Gap resumed in the synod of Rochelle, iv. 186. 188.

Garde. (Baron de La) Endeavours to seize Rochelle by stratagem, i. 19. Surrenders Caudebec to the prince of Parma.

— (Francis Du-Jardin, called captain La). His history: his trial on occasion of Ravaillac's conspiracy, iv. 471. See *Conspiracy against Henry IV.* *Epernon*, &c.

Gargouille. (La). The origin of this fable. See *Romaine* (Saint).

Garmare. (Count of) Sent by the duke of Savoy to Paris: receives a present from Henry IV. iv. 208.

Garnache. (Nemours de La) Taken by Henry IV. i. 127. Taken again by that prince, 160.

— (Nemours de La). i. 97. Takes his mother prisoner, and is taken by her in his turn, i. 127.

I N D E X.

- Garnache* (N. de Rohan, lady of La). Takes her son prisoner, after having been made prisoner by him first, i. 127.
- Garnet*. (Henry) A jesuit: what share he had in the conspiracy against the king of England, iv. 173, 208. See *James, the English*.
- Garnier*. Preacher to the king: the gratuity he receives, ii. 385. He assists Biron in his preparations for death, iii. 26.
- Gatine*. (Philip de) Tumult about the cross of Gatine, i. 20.
- Gaucherie*. (La) Preceptor to Henry IV. i. 9.
- Gaudin*. See *Babou, Estrees*.
- Gaul*. In what manner the French settled there, v. 114.
- Gautiers*. See *League, Montpensier*.
- Gelnis*. (Guy de Saint) Escapes the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, i. 29, 110. See *Lansac*.
- Gendarms* of the queen. (Company of) Sully yields up the command of it, iii. 313.
- of the duke of Orleans (Company of). Created, iv. 225.
- Gendre*. (Le) One of Sully's secretaries, iv. 104. The advice given him by Sully at his retreat, v. 92.
- Geneva*. Sully visits that city during the war with Savoy, and frees the inhabitants from their apprehensions, ii. 341. Henry IV. permits them to demolish Fort St. Catherine, 343. The duke of Sully fails in his attempt upon this city, which is followed by a treaty of peace through the mediation of the Swiss cantons, iii. 59, 68, 69. Henry IV. takes Geneva under his protection, and forms magazines there, iv. 208. Du-Terrail, in endeavouring to surprise this city, is taken prisoner and beheaded, 388.
- Genevois* (Prince of) See *Garnache* (La).
- Genis*. (Elie de Gontault de Badefou de Saint) Brother-in-law to Sully, i. 409. Serves the king in the affair of the Moors revolt from Spain, iv. 302.
- (Mademoiselle de Saint). Marshal Biron proposes a marriage between her and his brother, i. 409. See *Blancard* (Saint). She is married to him, iii. 26. The two families endeavour afterwards to procure a divorce, iv. 349.
- Genis*. (Saint) Assists in seizing the two Luquisses, iv. 59.
- Genlis*. (John d'Angest d'Ivoy, of) Defeated in Flanders with the connivance of the court of France, i. 27.

George.

I N D E X.

George. (N. D'Auffonville de Saint) Commands the troops of Lorrain in Burgundy: his successes there, i. 38. The part he has in the battle of Fontaine-François, 54.

—— (Count of Saint) Commands the Spanish forces in Flanders, iii. 201.

Geran. (N. de Saint) Present at the battles of Aumale, i. 238. and Fontaine-François, ii. 56. His friendship for Sully calumniated, iii. 402.

Gergeau. Taken by the two kings, i. 171. Sully obtains the government of it, iii. 217. General assembly of the protestants held in this city: Sully does the king great service there, iv. 276.

Germain. (Suburb of Saint) Taken by Henry IV. at the first onset, i. 186. Fair of Saint-Germain: Henry IV. loses money there at play, iv. 230.

—— (Saint). De-Beaunie. See *Beaupre*.

—— (Saint). De-Clan. See *Clan*.

Germain-en-Laye. (Saint) The friends of the two princes make an attempt to carry them off from that place, but fail, i. 43. Henry IV. builds Châteauneuf there, iii. 78. Other works and embellishments made by him there, iv. 8. Henry's residence in this castle; and his indisposition there, 33. Sends the children of France to reside in it, 231.

German horse and foot. Their march into France imprudently concerted, i. 123. Defeated at Auneau, 147, 149. They and the Lansquenets betray Henry IV. at the battle of Arques, 181. Fire their pieces in the air at the battle of Ivry, 194. They are slaughtered, 198. The duke of Bouillon makes a new levy of these forces, 225. And leads them to the siege of Rouen, 227. Where they mutiny, 230. They refuse to pursue the prince of Parma, 261.

Germany. Its antient dukes descended from the House of Habsbourg. See *Habsbourg*, *Austria*. Henry's design advantageous for the electors and princes of Germany, ii. 309. Their true policy with regard to Spain and Austria, iii. 171. They resolve to unite with Henry, 352. Customs of duels in Germany different from those in France, iv. 99. Henry makes new allies, 112. Debts of France to the princes and cities in Germany discharged, 212. Affairs of Germany; and the commotions that happen there, 306. Henry engages the princes in his interests, 326. They send a deputation to him from Hall, on occasion of the succession of

I N D E X.

- Cleves**, 411. See *Cleves*. They enter into a more strict alliance with France, 421. Ambassadors appointed to reside there during the execution of the great design, 430. See *Henry*, *Political Design*, *Rodolphus*, *Sax*. Part of the great design which relates to its princes and circles, v. 134. Forces and money to be contributed by them, 146, 151.
- Gesures**. (Lewis Potier de) Secretary of state, signs the duke of Guise's treaty, ii. 23. iii. 298.
- Gibraltar**. The Flemmings gain a naval battle over the Spaniards before this town, iv. 200.
- Giez**. Plots with D'Entragues to release the count of Auvergne out of the Bastile, iii. 370.
- Gillot**. (James) Counsellor of the parliament, concerned in the affair of Adrienne de Frésne, iv. 146.
 — Secretary of the ordnance. The benefits he receives from Sully, and the advice he gives him at his retreat, v. 92.
- Gisors**. Taken by Sully: he is denied the government of it, i. 214. Henry's kindness to the poor receiver there, ii. 164.
- Giversac**. (Mark de Cugnac, de) A protestant gentleman of the disaffected party, iv. 78.
- Givry**. (Anne D'Anglure, de) Attaches himself to Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. i. 176. Present in the battle of Aumale, 238. His elogium, 238. Defends Neuf-Chatel but indifferently, 249. Defeats the supplies which the Spaniards endeavour to throw into Laon, 402, 404. Assists at the defeat of the grand convoy, 405. Draws the army into danger by some false advices, 409. His death, 405.
 — (Cardinal of). Lends money to Henry IV. iv. 229. Is proposed for the bishopric of Metz.
- Glasgow**. (James de Béthune, archbishop of) Recommended to Sully by the cardinal of Bourbon, i. 396. Anecdotes relating to his extraction and his life, 397. Henry IV. grants him his protection, 402. His letter to Sully upon the accession of king James to the crown of England, iii. 86.
- Glasf**. (Manufactory of) Established by Henry IV. iv. 12.
- Gobelin**. Keeper of the royal treasure, ii. 116.
- Gondy**. (Albert de) Duke of Retz. See *Retz*.
 — (Charles of). See *Bellisle*.
 — (Peter, cardinal of) Bishop of Paris: the Pope refuses to give him audience when sent to him by Henry IV.

I N D E X.

- IV. i. 317. He goes back again to Rome to pay obedience to the Pope in the name of Henry IV. 334. Is made head of the counsel of reason, ii. 133.
- Gondy*. A contractor, iv. 212. Debts to him discharged by Sully, 255.
- Gontault*. See *Biron*, *Salignac*, *Blancard* (Saint), *Genies* (Saint).
- Gontier*, or *Gonthery*. (Father) A jesuit: his character, iii. 229. His plots at court to ruin Sully, 371. See *Jesuits*, *Courtiers*. Henry IV. gives him a severe reprimand for his seditious manner of preaching, iv. 317.
- Gonzague*. Origin of the grandeur of this house, iv. 154. See *Nevers*, *Mantua*.
- Gordés*. (Bertrand de Simiane, de) Endeavours to save the protestants at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 38.
- Gourdon*. (N. de Terride, viscount of) Author of the enterprise against Cahors, i. 66. Relieves Villemur, 274.
- Gournay*. Taken by Henry IV. i. 178. This prince in danger of his life there, 341.
- (Mademoiselle de). Gives information of the conspiracy against Henry IV. iii. 209. See *Coman*, *Schemberg*.
- Government*. After the peace of Savoy, Henry IV. and Sully apply themselves assiduously to the cares of it, ii. 351. Maxims and reflections upon government, 358. iii. 43, 106, 209, 308, 318. The gentleness of Henry IV's government, 411. The great difficulty of correcting the abuses which had crept into it before his reign, iv. 221. Maxims for good government, 292. Schemes for a reformation in several parts of it. See *Cabinet of State*. Judgment upon the different governments which followed each other in France. See *France* (Kings of), *Descent*. See also *Politics*, *Police*, *Finances*, &c.
- Governors of Provinces*, in their own right and hereditary proposed to Henry IV. ii. 63. See *Princes of the Blood*, *Lords*, *Montpensier*. Their rights in their governments to quarters, iii. 169, 171.
- Gracienne*. One of the duchesses of Beaufort's women, ii. 272.
- Gradenigo*. Ambassador from Venice to France, ii. 366.
- Grain*. Regulations concerning it, ii. 199. iii. 228.
- Grammont*. (Antony I. de) A protestant lord, i. 24. Charles IX. saves him from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 32—51.

I N D E X.

- Grammont.* (Antony II. de). Sully's friendship for him calumniated, iii. 403. The spoils he takes from the Spaniards, iv. 197.
- (Phillibert de). Quits the party of Henry IV. i. 64.
- Grand.* (Le) A farmer of the revenue, ii. 135.
- Grandry.* (Peter de) A protestant gentleman, escapes from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29.
- Grands-Jours.* (Chamber of) Held by Sully in Limosin, iv. 83.
- Grange.* (Francis de La). See *Montigny, Arquien*.
- Grange Le-Roy.* One of the members of the new council of the finances, ii. 31—87. One of the deputies to the districts of the kingdom, 108. Opposes Sully in the council, 148.
- Gras.* (Le) Treasurer of the office for registering the rents, iii. 325.
- Gratins.* (Mademoiselle de) In the household of the princess Catherine, ii. 88.
- Gratz.* (Archdukes of) See *Austria* (Margaret, Ferdinand of).
- Grave.* Taken by the prince of Orange, iii. 57.
- Gravelines.* Some forces defeated there, i. 12.
- Gravesend.* Sully's reception there, iii. 96.
- Gray.* Military exploits in the neighbourhood of that city, ii. 56. See *Franche-Comte, Fontaine-François*.
- Great-Britain.* Three kingdoms so called, iii. 344. See *England, &c. James*.
- Grec.* (Captain) Lieutenant for the League in Antwerp: killed there, i. 109.
- Greenwich.* Sully has an audience there of king James, and is entertained there by that prince, iii. 123. See *Sully, James, &c.*
- Greffes.* Edicts concerning them in favour of the count of Soissons, iv. 10. Sully re-unites them, and the clerks offices, in the courts of Languedoc, to the crown lands, 213.
- Gregory.* XIII. (Pope) Rejoices at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 31. A bon-mot upon this Pope, 13.
- Gregory* XIV. Sends troops to the assistance of the League, i. 235.
- Gre/in.* (Bridge of) Article of the treaty of Lyons concerning this bridge and the pass there, ii. 347.
- Grey.* (Lord) Conspires against king James, iii. 196.
- Griffin.* (Lord) Sully sees him at Dover, ii. 370. One of the disaffected lords, iii. 110.

I N D E X.

Grillon. (Lewis Barton de) Gives Henry III. good counsel on the day of the barricadoes, i. 151. Writes a letter to Henry IV. after the battle of Arques, 182. His valour and the wounds he receives at the siege of Rouen, 235. He rails at marshal Biron in the king's presence, 349. Bon-mot of his upon the superintendant D'O, ii. 16. The adventure at Charbonnières which creates a friendship between him and Sully, iii. 380. His character *ibid.* An affair between him and Sully, relating to the post of colonel of the guards, likely to be of dangerous consequence to that minister, 384. His whimsical humour, and arrogant manner of speaking to the king, 385. The affair of the colonel's commission terminated to the king's satisfaction, iv. 44.

—— (Thomas Berton, *commandeur de*). Endeavours to deprive Boisrosé of Fescampe, i. 346.

Grimouville. Counsellor of the parliament of Rouen in the king's party, ii. 82.

Grisons. Henry IV. unites them with the Venetians, iii. 55. Origin of their differences with Spain, 353. See *Valteline*, *Fuentes*. Farther account of these affairs: they declare against Spain, 357. They break formally with that crown, and enter into a league with France and the republic of Venice, iv. 208, 209. The debts due to them by France discharged by Sully, 212. The bad conduct of Refuge, envoy from France to the Grisons, 393. Caumartin sent ambassador there, 430. How concerned in the great design, v. 139.

Guelder. Count and counts of this name, iv. 396. Disputes concerning this succession. See *Cleves*.

Guele. (La) Dissuades Henry III. from having the duke of Guise assassinated, i. 152. Kills James Clement, 171. One of the courtiers who oppose the measures of Sully, iii. 298.

Guerche. (George de Villequier de La) Defeated in passing of the Vienne, and drowned therein, i. 266.

—— (Antony de Marasin, de), Murdered at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 32.

Gueret. (John) A jesuit, involved in the conspiracy of Châtel, ii. 37.

Guibert. One of the members of the council of finances, ii. 41.

Guiche. (Diana D'Andoins. countess de La) Beloved by Henry IV. i. 91. Sends him forces at her own expence: the answer made by her son to this prince, 91.

I N D E X.

Henry presents her with the colours taken at the battle of Courtras, 147. She favours the loves of the princess Catherine and the count of Soissons, 351. Gives bad counsels to this princess, ii. 88.

— (Phillibert de La). Grand master of the ordnance: mutinies at the siege of Rouen, i. 229—234—393. ii. 321.

Guidi. An Italian, plots with Conchini against Henry IV. iii. 119.

— (Chevalier). Agent for the grand duke of Tuscany in France, iv. 390. Henry IV. attaches him to himself, 393.

Guignard. (John) A jesuit: is hanged on account of his being concerned in Chatel's conspiracy, ii. 37. An examination of this fact, ib. See *Jesuits*.

Guillouaire. An agent of the count of Soissons, iii. 361.

Guines. See *Coucy*.

Guinterot. Envoy from the duke of Holstein to France, iv. 13.

Guise. (House of) Establishes itself in France, i. 12. Very powerful in the reign of Francis II. 13. The true sentiments of these princes upon religion, 104. Their ambition and projects, 90, 149, 150, 151, 152. Friendship between them and Sully, and the services they mutually do each other, iii. 392, 402. Sully justifies them to Henry IV. iv. 194. and does them great service, 264. Henry's aversion to that family, 271. See the following articles, *Lorrain*.

Guise. (Catherine of Cleves, duchess of) prevails upon her son to return to his duty; procures him the favour of Henry IV. her character and eulogium, ii. 17. Henry grants her a pardon for the prince of Joinville, iii. 37. Agreeableness of her conversation, 266. Friendship between her and Sully, iv. 165. She gives Sully informations of the new court, v. 68.

Guise. (Charles of Lorrain, duke of) Makes his escape from the castle of Tours; a saying of Henry's concerning this escape, i. 225. His squadron is defeated at Bar by this prince, 239. and afterwards at Yvetot, 256. His designs, plots, &c. with the states of Paris disconcerted, 312. Desirous of returning to his obedience, ii. 17. Champaign rises against him, and Sully concludes his treaty; articles of this treaty, 20. He comes to court to throw himself at Henry's feet; his reception from that prince, 23. Sully's apology for the treaty he had made for the duke of Guise; praises of

I N D E X.

- of his conduct in Provence, 26. Reduction of Marseilles, and other brave actions, and circumstances relating to the life of this duke; Henry praises him, 27. He drives out the duke of Epemon from Provence, 100. The sum of money he receives upon this treaty, 227. His reception of the arch-dukes at Marseilles, 253. Attends Henry IV. in the campaign of Savoy, 341. This prince, in consideration of him, pardons Joinville, iv. 1. An adventure between him and Grillon, iii. 380. Sully takes his part against Henry, iv. 104. and justifies him with regard to the difficulties raised to the marriage of the duke of Vendome with mademoiselle de Mercœur, 271. The queen regent makes him one of the members of the new council of state, v. 21. He quarrels with the count of Soissons, and is supported by Sully, 27. He continues attached to the duke of Sully, against all his enemies, 67. Gratuities which he procures from the queen-regent, 77. See *Lorrain*.
- Guise*. (Francis de Lorrain, duke of) Re-kindles the war between France and Spain, i. 12. A saying of his upon Francis II. ib. He is put at the head of the council and the armies, ib. In disgrace after the death of Francis II. ib. His death, his titles, ib. He forms the plan of the League, 98. His and the cardinal of Lorrain's pretensions upon Provence, Anjou, Metz, &c. See also *Lorrain* (Charles, cardinal of).
- Guise*. (Henry of Lorrain, duke of) Catherine de Medicis unites with him, i. 13. Charles IX. opposes his marriage with Margaret of Valois; resolves to have him assassinated; and attempts to murder him with his own hand, 15. He forms, in concert with the queen-mother, the scheme of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 28. Leads the assassins to admiral de Coligny; pursues Montgomery, 31. Friendship between him and the king of Navarre, 45. Henry III. hates him, and, contrary to his inclinations, concludes the peace of 1577. 61. The weakness of his party in its beginning, 100. See *League*. Accused of being indifferent about all religions, 104. Defeats the foreign forces at Auneau, 149. Day of the barricadoes, 150. Different opinions concerning his views in this enterprize, *ibid*. A saying of the prince of Parma's upon this action; another of Sixtus V. on the same subject: the resistance he meets with from the president Harlay, Stafford, &c. *ibid*.

I N D E X.

- ibid.* His conferences with Catherine de Medicis, 155. Henry III. causes him to be assassinated at Blois, 157. Particulars and different opinions of this action, *ibid.* His character; his projects, &c. *ibid.* See *Lorrain*.
- Guise.* (Lewis of Lorrain, cardinal of) Assassinated at Blois, i. 157. See the former article.
- Guise.* (Mademoiselle de) Margaret of Lorrain. Solicits Henry IV. in favour of her brother, ii. 17. See *Guise* (Charles of). Designed to be married to the king, 186. Her galantries *ibid.* She is employed in the marriage of M. de Vendome with mademoiselle de Mercœur, iv. 271.
- Guity.* (John de Chaumont de) author of the scheme for carrying off the princess from Saint Germain, i. 43—50. Negotiates in Germany for the protestant party, 121. Is partly the cause of the defeat at Aneau, 149.
- Guity.* Present at the siege of Laon, and the attack of the grand convoy, 408.
- Gutron.* One of the courtiers who live familiarly with Henry IV. iv. 167.
- Guyenne.* Henry's journey to that province, iii. 12.

H.

- Habsbourg.* (Counts of) See *Austria* (House of).
- Habsbourg.* (Raoul, or Rodolphus d') First author of the grandeur of the house of Austria, i. 4. The States conquered by him, iv. 111.
- Hacqueville.* (N. de Vieux pont d') Surrenders Pontaudemer to the prince of Parma, i. 251, 380.
- Hagemau.* Offers made by Spain to Henry IV. in this place, i. 91.
- Hall.* (Assembly of) And a deputation sent to Henry IV. by the German princes, 144. See *Cleves*, *Political Design*.
- Hallot.* (Francis de Montmorency de) Wounded at the siege of Rouen, i. 230. Assassinated by D'Allegre, iv. 228.
- Hallot.* (Michael Bourrouge du) Governor of Angers for Henry III. his punishment, i. 106.
- Ham.* Taken at the first assault by the French, ii. 46.
- Hameaux.* (Des) Counsellor of the parliament of Rouen, in the party of Henry IV. ii. 82.
- Han.* (Charles Du-) Farmer-general of the five large farms, iii. 326.

Hana-

I N D E X.

- Hanapier.* A contractor, iv. 216.
- Haras-du-Roi.* Particulars of his several establishments, ii. 396. See *Melun*.
- Harlay.* (Achilles de) First president. His resolute reply to the duke of Guise, after the action of the barricades, i. 156. He draws up the process against marshal Biron, iii. 23, 24. Opposes the return of the Jesuits, 231. Appointed one of the council of the regency by Henry IV. v. 93. A speech of his to the duke of Epernon after the assassination of that prince.
- Harlay-Beaumont.* See *Beaumont*.
- Harlay-Montglat,* See *Montglat*.
- Harlay-Sancy.* See *Sancy*.
- Haulle.* (La-) Member of the parliament of Rouen, in the party of Henry IV. ii. 82.
- Havre-de-Grace.* Delivered up to the English by the protestants, i. 26. Taken by the forces of Henry IV. 188. Surrenders to this prince, 382. The sum paid for its reduction, ii. 227.
- Haye.* (La-) in Touraine. Skirmishes in this place, i. 135.
- Hague.* Treaty between Spain and the United Provinces; and that of the mediation of the kings of France and England concluded in this place, iv. 382.
- Hayes.* (Des) Gasque. A protestant gentleman, makes his escape at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, i. 29.
- Hebert.* (Charles) An agent of marshal Biron's. Obtains the king's pardon, iii. 28. Continues his plots at Milan, 201.
- Heemskerck.* (Jacob). The dutch vice-admiral. Gains a great naval victory over the Spaniards; killed in the battle, iv. 222.
- Henry II.* King of France. A saying of his to the prince of Navarre, i. 9. A rupture between this prince and Philip II. 12. He is killed in a tournament, 13. Value of the taille in his reign, iv. 295. He succours the German princes against Charles V. 406.
- Henry III.* King of France. Accused of being the author of the prince of Condé's assassination, i. 1. The discourse of this prince to Miron, his first physician, 25. He is elected king of Poland, and raises the siege of Rochelle, 40, 41. At his return from Poland, he declares

I N D E X.

clares war against the huguenots ; raises the siege of Livron, 46. Marries the princess of Vaudemont, *ib.* His aversion to Monsieur, *ib.* He concludes the peace of 1577, out of hatred to the Guises. His conduct a mixture of devotion and voluptuousness, 59. Rosny deputed to him by Henry IV. Gives Monsieur, at his return from Flanders, a cool reception, 93. Reproaches Henry IV. on account of Margaret of Valois, 92. He quarrels with, and is afterwards reconciled to the League : forced to unite with it, 99. Loses an opportunity of re-uniting the Low-Countries to France, 100. Supports the League through timidity, 105. Beginning of the negotiation for the union of the two kings, 119. A saying of Henry III. concerning the protestants of the League, 117. His conduct the cause that the foreign troops were defeated at Aneau, 94. Bad policy of his council, 128—130. He puts the duke of Joyeuse at the head of his army, 131. Day of the barricades : errors committed on this occasion, 150. Conversation between him and Sully, whose advice he rejects, 155. He causes the duke and the cardinal of Guise to be assassinated ; judgment upon this action, 157. New faults committed by this prince ; the extremity to which he is reduced, 159. Sully negotiates with him for a union between the two kings, 164. This treaty is concluded, and they have a conference together. Military exploits in the neighbourhood of Tours, *ibid.* He praises Henry III. 167. The success of his arms ; he besieges Paris, 171. Is wounded at St. Cloud, and dies : the friendship he expresses for Henry IV. 171. Particulars relating to this event, *ibid.* The error he committed, by giving the government of Brittany to the duke of Mercœur, 185. His favourites, *ii.* 15. It is proposed to him to marry the princess Catherine, 255. Debts contracted by him through the League, *iv.* 7. Augmentation of the taille under his reign, 295.

Henry IV. King of France. Commands the protestant troops at the encounter of Arnai-le-Duc, *i.* 4. Particulars relating to his birth, his education, and his happy qualities, 8. Titles borne successively by him, 10. Other accounts of his infancy and youth, *ibid.* His talents for war, 10. He is declared chief of the protestant party ; the powerful enemies he has

I N D E X.

has to oppose, 14. Plot between him and the duk of Alençon to strangle Catherine de Medicis, 18. He goes to reside at Rochelle, after the peace of 1570, *ibid.* A project of marrying him to Margaret of Valois, 15. Overhears something concerning the result of the conference at Baïonne, 19. Marries Margaret, 28. Cannot be prevailed upon to leave Paris, 30. In what manner he escaped death at the massacre of St. Bartholomew: Charles IX. obliges him to change his religion, and keeps him prisoner, 29. Means made use of by the queen mother to embroil him with Monsieur, 46. Rejects with horror the proposal of murdering that prince: his friendship with the duke of Guise, 45. He escapes from court, and joins Monsieur and the prince of Condé, 46. Is abandoned by Monsieur, 49. Takes up arms again, but with little success, *ib.* Loses Marmande, 50. Love carries him to Bearn, 51. He takes Eause by storm, *ib.* Other military exploits, 57. A bold action of his at Nerac, 59. He quarrels with the prince of Condé; and cannot prevent the taking of Brouage, 60. Has a conference with the queen mother: proposals, accepted and refused, 62. His reply to Catherine de Medicis; his gallantries with her maids of honour, 63. See *Agellé* and *Fesseuse*. He takes Fleurence and Saint Emilion, 64. His astonishing valour at the siege of Cahors, which he takes by assault, 66. He renders the prince of Conde's scheme ineffectual, 72. Takes Monsegur, and shuts himself up in Nerac, 73. The friendship he conceives for Sully, whom he reproves for his faults, and afterwards pardons him, 75. Catherine conceives a design of treating with him for his claims upon Navarre, 76. A conversation between him and Sully, in which he foretells what will happen to Monsieur and him in Flanders, 78. The reception he gives him at his return from that expedition, 91. Sends him to court, to communicate the advantageous offers which had been made him by Spain at Hagemau, 92. And to observe the motions of the League, 93. His answers to the sharp letters he receives from Henry III. 91. They give him poison, which produces no effect: he is again in danger, from captain Michau, 97. He makes preparations for resisting the forces of the League: his indignation at the treaty of Nemours, 99. His confidence in Sully, 103. Deputies sent him
from

I N D E X.

from the court, 104. His true sentiments concerning religion, *ibid.* His party worsted at Angers, 106. Fights against the three armies of Maienne, Joyeuse, and Matignon, 115. Goes to Rochelle, 117. Takes Talmont, 122. Chizay, Sanzy, Saint-Maixent, and Fontenai; hindered by an accident from being informed of the arrival of the foreign troops, 123. Takes Maillezais, Mauleon, La-Garnache; Lofes Nyort, Parthenai, and retires to Rochelle, 127. He has conferences with the queen mother at Cognac, Saint Brix, Saint-Maixent, 130. The answers he gives this princess: the danger he is in at Saint-Brix, *ib.* Joyeuse takes Saint-Maixent and Maillezais from him, 131. The advantages he gains over this army, 135. He wins the battle of Coutras, 139. Actions and sayings of this prince, and other particulars relating to him, during this battle, and immediately after it, 140. The faults he commits, which hinders him from deriving any advantage from this victory, 144. He goes to Bearn, and there makes a discovery of the plots of the count of Soissons, 146. His grief for the death of the prince of Condé: justifies Charlotte Catherine de La Tremouille, 150. Offers his person and forces to Henry III. after the action of the barricadoes, 154. A saying of his upon the assassination of the Guises, 157. He endeavours to disconcert the designs of the chiefs of the protestant party; falls sick at La-Mothe-Frélon; deposes Sully to Henry III. and takes Garnache and Nyort, 160. And afterwards Châtelleraut and Argenton, 163. Has a conference with Henry III. after the treaty of Pleffis-les-Tours; the counsels he receives, and a saying of his upon this subject, 164. Forces the duke of Maienne from Tours, 167. The success of the arms of the two kings, 171. The great services he does Henry III. and the danger to which he exposes himself, *ibid.* Henry III. jealous of him, *ibid.* He visits this prince when wounded: the marks of affection which he receives from him, 172. He asks advice from Sully, 173. Henry IV. acknowledged king of France by some of the chief officers in the royalist party, and abandoned by others: measures taken by him in this juncture, 175. His reasons for going farther from Paris: he surprizes Meulan, takes Clermont and other cities of Normandy, 177. Gains a victory at Arques; particular account of

I N D E X.

of this battle, 180. Bon-mot of his upon this occasion, and other anecdotes during and after this action, *ibid.* He harrasses his enemies; the danger he is in at Dieppe, 185. He loses Vernon, and advances towards Paris; causes the suburbs to be attacked, but without success, 186. Takes Estampe, and several other towns, 188. Causes the siege of Meulan to be raised, 190. Not able to prevent the loss of Rouen, *ib.* The battle of Ivry: particulars concerning this battle, and the behaviour of this prince there, 193. Caresses Sully highly, and confers the order of knighthood upon him, 202. Takes Dreux, and loses Sens: causes of his not taking advantage of this victory, 206. He carries the suburbs of Paris, and lays siege to the city, 207. Raises the siege through tenderness to the inhabitants, 209. Commits an error by posting himself at Chelles, 210. He takes Clermont, 213. and pursues the prince of Parma at great advantage: saves the life of the baron de Biron, 214. Goes to Cœuvres to visit the fair Gabriella, *ibid.* His party is increased, 214. He takes Chartres, 217, and Corbie, 219. His passion for mademoiselle d'Estrees, 218. A letter from Henry IV. to Sully, *ibid.* The taking of Noyon, and other advantages gained over the League, 220. Henry IV's. presence at Mante is the cause of Sully's failing in an enterprise he had meditated against the duke of Maienne, 222. He surprizes Louvries, 223. Takes possession of one part of Normandy, *ibid.* Goes to Compeigne to visit the fair Gabriella, 225. His reasons for favouring a marriage between the viscount de Turenne and mademoiselle de Bouillon, *ibid.* See *Bouillon, Mark (La)*. He undertakes the siege of Rouen, 227. Errors committed in the attack, 229. Valour of this prince in the assault, 231. The catholics in his army discontented 232. He goes to meet the Prince of Parma, 235. A saying of his upon the death of Sixtus V. 236. Marches and encampments of this prince, 237. He defeats a squadron of the duke of Guises, 289. Battle of Aumale; particulars relating to this action, in which he is wounded, 245. He forces the duke of Parma to repass the Somme, *ibid.* Mutiny in his army, 246. He raises the siege of Rouen, 249. He offers the prince of Parma battle in vain, 250. Divides his forces, *ibid.*
Joins

I N D E X.

Joins them again, and defeats the advanced guard of his enemies, *ibid.* Gains other advantages, 251. Remarks upon these expeditions, and upon the errors attributed to Henry, 254. The prince of Parma makes his retreat, 255. and Henry's army refuses to pursue him, 256. He is greatly perplexed how to keep them together, 262. Disbands his army, and leads the protestant troops into Picardy, 263. His secret motive for this journey, 264. He disconcerts the plots of the count of Soissons in Bern, 266. Henry IV. takes Epèrnay, and disbands his troops 275. Sully discontented with him; the occasion of it, 276. Discovers, by Sully's means, the secrets of the League, and of the third party, 285. The great confidence he places in Sully, who is the chief author of his conversion, 288. Conversations between him and Sully, wherein the latter urges him to change his religion; the motives which determine him to it, 294. Henry obliges the protestants to consent to a negociation with the catholics, 296. Conditions proposed to him by the League, 306. which he rejects, 309. His claim to the crown incontestible, 315, 316. He raises the siege of Selles, 317. His ambassadors rejected at Rome, *ib.* He endeavours to gain the Pope, and agrees to a conference with the catholics, which produce nothing, 319. Sully prevails upon him to come to a resolution, 321. He is present at the conference held between the catholics and the protestants, 326. Besieges and takes Dreux, *ibid.* The sincerity of his conversion, 327. His conduct towards the protestants, 329. The letter he wrote to his mistress on this subject, 330. Particulars relating to his abjuration: Sayings of this prince, 331. He sends a deputation to Rome, 334. The wise conduct he observes with Spain, with the League, and the Huguenots, 335. He grants a truce to the deputies from the city of Paris, 336. Receives a Spanish deputy, 337. See *Nugnes, D'Entragues*. Saying of his concerning his abjuration, 336. Deputes La-Varenne unseasonably to Mandoce, 339. Bon-mot of La-Varenne, *ibid.* Plots of the monks against Henry IV. 341. See *Jesuits, Capuchins*. He resumes his conferences upon religion: the catholics jealous of the protestants about his person, 342. He commences a treaty with admiral Villars, 343. Succours Fescamp, 346. Is received into

I N D E X.

into Meaux, &c. 347. Is capable of suppressing his resentment: an anecdote on this subject, 349. Causes himself to be crowned at Chartres, 351. Reconciles, by means of Sully, the duke of Montpensier and the count of Soissons, *ibid.* and gets the contract of marriage out of their hands, 352. Villars submits to him, 371. He is received in Paris, where he pardons all his enemies, 372. Particulars and bon-mots of his on this subject, 374, 375. He restores order and regularity, and pardons the duke of Montpensier and Biron, 377. Present made by him to Sully, 386. His reception of Villars: several cities submit to him, 389. He goes into Picardy, where the Spaniards had taken La-Capelle, 391. Lays siege to Laon, *ibid.* The great fatigue and labour he sustains at this siege, 401. Prevents the Spaniards from succouring Laon, 404. Biron discontented with him, 408. His army in danger of being surprized by the Spaniards, which obliges him to make his retreat, 409. The military qualities of this prince extolled, 412. He conceals the causes he has for complaint against Bouillon, and deposes Sully to him, *ii.* 2. Laon taken: makes his entry into several towns of Picardy: the success of his arms in the provinces, 11. The duke of Guise returns to his obedience, 17. Henry's obliging behaviour to him, and the praises he gives to the prince of that house, 23, 27. The familiar manner in which this prince lives with his courtiers, 24. His amours with the fair Gabriella: conversation between him and Alibour upon this subject, 29—31. Change which he makes in the council of finances, 32. He declares war against Spain, 35. Is wounded by Chatel: Particulars relating to this horrid attempt, and to the banishment of the Jesuits, 36. First success of his arms against Spain, 38. He goes to Burgundy, 39. His amour with the fair Gabriella, *ib.* A new council settled during his absence, 41. Conversation between him and Sully at Moret, 42. The count of Soissons disgusted, 43. Campaign of Burgundy: battle of Fontaine-François, 49. Henry returns to Paris, and with Sully, deploras the misfortunes which happened in Picardy, 56. Conditions upon which the pope grants him absolution, 59. Cannot prevent the loss of Calais, which he had refused to yield to Elizabeth, 63. He provides for the security of Picardy, 64. He reproaches the duke of Montpensier with the part he had in the crimi-

I N D E X.

nal designs of the grandees, *ibid.* Reproves the duke of Bouillon, whom he sends ambassador to London, 67. Is desirous of sending Sully with him, but he is unwilling to go, *ibid.* He lays siege to La-Fere, 71. Is seized with an indisposition, 72. Loses Arras: succeeds better in other expeditions, 73. Angry with his council for suffering him to be in want of necessaries during this campaign, 66, 77. Henry gives audience to the deputies from Provence and Languedoc, 82. Commissions Sully to break off the marriage between the princess Catherine and the count of Soissons, 84. Is angry with Sully upon this occasion, and without cause; but makes him reparation, 93. The different fortunes of his arms in several provinces, 98. After much irresolution, and many obstacles, he obliges the council of finances to receive Sully amongst them, 100. The duke of Maienne makes a treaty with him, and comes to pay him his obedience, 106. He orders Sully to visit the districts, 108. Recals him, in consequence of some bad counsels he had received; does him justice, rewards and supports him against Sancy and the council, 112. His speech to the assembly Des Notables, 125. The prudent conduct he observes towards them by the advice of Sully, 128. Project for raising the siege of Arras, 136. The great concern he expresses for the loss of Amiens, 139. Sully directs him to the means of regaining this place, 140. An extraordinary council called upon this occasion, 144, 145. He leaves Sully at the head of the council, and departs for this expedition, 146. His labours at this siege: he carries his mistress thither: his solicitude for Sully's safety, whom he makes use of to disconcert the pernicious designs of the protestants, 151. He bestows the post of grand master of the ordnance upon d'Estrees, after having promised it to Sully; to whom, in recompence, he gives the government of Mante, 153, 155. Particulars relating to the siege of Amiens; it is taken, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the arch-duke to prevent it. 156. Letters of Henry IV. 159. Several military expeditions, in which he has different success, 162. The king returns to Paris, and makes preparations for his march into Brittany, 165. A fine saying of Henry's with regard to marshal Biron, *ibid.* He listens to negotiations for a peace, 167. Suffers himself to be moved in favour of the duke of Mercœur: the free-

I N D E X.

freedom with which Sully expatiates upon this error, 169. He pacifies Brittany, and makes himself be obeyed there, 170. Labours for the edict of Nantz, 178. A bon-mot of his upon Elizabeth, the arch-duke, and himself, 177. A fine conversation which he holds with the English and Dutch ambassadors, upon the necessity of a peace, 178. He puts the last hand to the edict of Nantz, 181. Speaks and acts with authority to Bouillon and the protestants, 182. Resides some time at Rennes: a curious conversation between him and Sully upon the dissolution of his marriage, 183. The extreme weakness of this prince with respect to his mistress, 188, 190. He goes into Picardy, 192. His pleasant replies to those that harangue him, 193. He signs the peace of Vervins at Paris: praises of this prince, and a bon-mot of his upon this treaty: other particulars relating to the publication of the peace, 195. 196. Henry applies himself to the affairs of government; regulations and establishments which he makes in the militia, fortifications, police, and the belles-lettres, 199. He interests himself in the question of the true or false Don Sebastian, 200. Causes a conference to be held at Boulogne, between the deputies of Spain and England, and names two cardinals, 201. The duchess of Beaufort abuses his indulgence in the ceremony of the baptism of her second son, 204. Henry supports Sully against her, and reconciles them: a curious conversation between them three, 208. This prince dangerously ill at Monceaux, 210. The posts he bestows on Sully, 220. His great confidence in him, 223. Sums paid by Henry to the chiefs and cities of the League at their treaties, 227, 229. He takes Sully's part against d'Epernon, 231. and the grantees, 235. Talents of this prince for government, and his great knowledge in the finances, 242. Marriage of the princess Catherine with the prince of Bar, in which he is ill served by D'Ossat: He causes the ceremony to be performed by the archbishop of Rohan, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy, 254. Henry reforms the edict of Nantz, 262. His prudent conduct in the affair of Martha Broffier, 267. He makes Sully superintendant of the finances, buildings, and fortifications, and grand surveyor, 268. Death of the duchess of Beaufort, 277. Henry's presage of her death, 272. His excessive grief; is comforted by Sully, 277. A bon-mot of this prince's to father Ange, 281.

I N D E X.

Henry IV. goes to Blois : the occasion of this journey, 286. He writes to Margaret upon the dissolution of his marriage with her, and causes this affair to be prosecuted diligently, 288. He falls in love with made-moiselle D'Entragues, 289. Is weak enough to give her a promise of marriage, 290. which Sully tears in his presence, 291. His discontent when Sully informs him that the treaty for a marriage between him and the princess of Tuscany is concluded, 293. An Italian who attempted to stab him is seized, 293. He gives the post of grand master of the ordnance to Sully, 294. His reception of the duke of Savoy, 299. Presents made by these two princes to each other, 301. Henry supports Sully against the commissaries, and avoids the snares laid for him by the duke of Savoy in the affair of the marquisate of Saluces, 305. Is present at the dispute between the bishop of Evreux and Du-Plessis Mornay, 308. The letter he writes to D'Epernon upon this occasion, 309. His departure for the expedition of Savoy : takes the marchioness of Verneuil along with him, *ib.* He is stopped by the artifices of the duke of Savoy, 313. Takes Chamberry, &c. 315. Is married by proxy to the princess of Tuscany, *ibid.* Relies upon Sully for the management of this war, 320. Comes to the siege of Charbonnières, 325. To that of Montmelian, and exposes his person there imprudently, 335. The reception he gives to the deputies from Geneva : ceremonies and particulars of his marriage with Mary de Medicis, 342. Ill served by the commissioners for the peace, 343. His perplexity occasioned by the intelligence between his courtiers and the duke of Savoy, 345. He concludes an advantageous treaty, and returns to Paris, taking the queen along with him, 347. He corrects the abuses in money and trade, &c. 348. Prohibits the wearing of gold or silver stuffs : the introduction of those stuffs into France : the simplicity of his own dress, 354. Prohibits likewise the transportation of gold and silver coin out of the kingdom, 355. Establishes a chamber of justice, 358. from which he draws but little advantage, 360. Henry IV's advice to the prince of Orange ; and the journey he takes to Orleans, 361. Motives of his journey to Calais, 363. His ambassador at Madrid insulted, for which the Pope procures him satisfaction, 365. The magnificent titles which the grand signior gives him by his ambassadors, 366. An embassy

I N D E X.

bassy from the Venetians: his answer to the Spanish
 ambassador, *ib.* Reciprocal letters which pass between
 him and Elizabeth: the reasons which hinder them
 from conferring together personally, 367. They are
 calumniated on this account, 369. Henry sends Sully
 to Dover to confer with queen Elizabeth, 370. He
 informs Sully of the birth of the Dauphin, 376. Or-
 ders La-Riviere to calculate his nativity, 377. Sends
 him to St. Germain to be nursed, 379. Procures a
 restitution of the isles of Pommégue, &c. from the
 grand duke, 380. Appoints the count of Béthune
 ambassador to Rome, tho' Villeroi and Sillery oppose
 it, 382. Letters from this prince to Sully upon D'Or-
 nano, and upon his stud of horses at Meun, 384.
 Endeavours to fix Sully in his allegiance, 385. Gives
 him a considerable gratuity, 388. Sends him ambassa-
 dor to London, and to Switzerland, 389. Receives
 notice of his conspiracy against him, 392. Letters
 which he wrote to Sully, and the conversation he had
 with him upon the depositions of La-Fin, 393, 394.
 The amusements of this prince at the Arsenal, *iii.* 1.
 Is attacked by a fit of the gout: goes to Blois, and
 disconcerts the designs of Biron there, 2. See *Male-*
contents. A grand council held to determine upon the
 manner of arresting Bouillon, D'Auvergne, and Biron,
 4. Sully dissuades Henry IV. from arresting D'Eper-
 non, 7. Another secret affair between him and Sully,
 concerning the queen and the Italians, 12. He shows
 himself in Poitou, Limosin and Guyenne, *ibid.* He
 causes Biron and Auvergne to be arrested: particulars
 relating to their detention, 14, 15. The tryal of Bi-
 ron, 23. His speech to the relations of this marshal,
 26. Causes the Baron de Fontenelle to be executed,
 and grants a pardon to all the other conspirators, 28.
 To Hebert and the Baron de Lux, 29. To the count
 of Auvergne: his motives for this clemency, 32. To
 the prince of Joinville, whom he puts under confine-
 ment, 36. He endeavours, but in vain, to draw
 Bouillon to court, 37. Reproaches Spain on account
 of marshal Biron's conspiracy, 39. Conversation be-
 tween him and Sully, upon the bounds he intended to
 put to his benefactions to him, 41. Affair of the ad-
 vocates terminated peaceably, 45. His adventure with
 the attornies, whom he causes to be whipt, 49. Ope-
 rations with regard to money: reflections upon them,
 50. Gold and silver mines discovered in France, 54.

I N D E X.

Edict against duels, 54. His journey to Calais, 56. Henry legitimates his son by the marchioness of Verneuil: is indisposed at Monceaux, ib. Goes to Metz, 63. Banishes the Saboles, 64. Reconciles several German princes who come to pay their respects to him there, 66. Receives the jesuits there favourably, and promises to repeal their banishment, 67. Frees the Pope from his apprehensions, on account of his armaments, 70. Henry IV. continues to support privately the Flemings against Spain, 72. His answer to the elector palatine, who wrote to him in favour of Bouillon, 74. Sully's letter to him on this subject, 76. His grief for the death of queen Elizabeth, 77. His conversation on this subject with Sully, whom he determines to send ambassador to London, ibid. His buildings, 78. The private and public instructions which he gives to Sully: the great importance of this embassy, 82. Henry dangerously ill at Fontainebleau: his great confidence in Sully: he recovers, 83. Henry's letters to the king and queen of England, 91. Letters between the king and Sully during his stay in London, 93. Insult given to the French flag, 94. Sully removes the king's apprehensions on account of a supposed union between England and Spain, 140. This prince's reasons for taking the part of the English priests, 145, 147. Sully acquaints the king of England with the great design, 165. See *Political Design, James*. King James emulous of Henry IV. 174. The error of not giving a chartre-blanc to Sully, 179. Form of the treaty of alliance between the two kings, 180. Presents made by Sully to the king, the queen, and the court of England, 187. Henry caresses Sully highly at his return from London, 189. Praises him in public, and justifies him against the malicious aspersions of the count of Soissons, 190. Secret conversations on the subject of this embassy, 193. Measures taken against the intrigues of Spain at London, 200. Remonstrances made by Sully to Henry IV. upon the abuses of small edicts, 202. He retracts a grant which he had been surprised into by the count of Soissons, and defends Sully against the resentment of this prince and the marchioness of Verneuil, 209. A private agreement between the king, the minister, and the sovereign courts, concerning these edicts, 205. Sully receives his majesty at Rosny: an accident occasioned by the rising of the waters, 211. Henry visits Normandy, 212. Is taken ill

I N D E X.

ill at Rouen, 212. New discontent given him by Bouillon and the protestants, 213. He gives the government of Poitou to Sully, 214. Establishes silk manufactures: conversation on this subject between him and Sully, by whom he cannot be dissuaded from this design, 217. His great expences at play, for his mistresses, &c. 223. Sends a colony to Canada, 225. Medals presented to him by Sully, 226. Death of the duchess of Bar: an examination into the effects of this princess, made by Henry and the duke of Bar, 227. A fine answer made by Henry to the nuncio on this subject, *ibid.* He recalls the jesuits, 228. notwithstanding all the reasons urged by Sully against it, 237. To whom he promises all sorts of satisfaction from them, 238. He gives them La-Fleche: makes father Cotton his confessor: other favours which he bestows upon them, 239. His stay at Chantilly, 241. He discovers the treason of L'Hôte, and causes him to be pursued, 245. His treatment of Villeroi, 251. He restores him to favour, and comforts him for what had happened, 252. Henry sends his cardinals to the conclave, 257. Promotion of French cardinals, 258. Makes frequent visits to Sully at the Arsenal: his conversation with him upon his domestic disquiets, 260. He is offended with Sully for his resolute opposition to him, 261. Makes him an apology for it, 262. Confides to him his uneasiness, occasioned by the queen and the marchioness of Verneuil, 264. Writes a letter to the marchioness full of reproaches, *ibid.* Demands from her the promise of marriage, which she refuses, 265. The faults he attributes to the queen, 266. Cannot follow Sully's advise, 267. And prevails upon him to try gentle methods, 269. Sully procures a reconciliation between him and the queen, with whom he is again embroiled, 272. Cannot resolve to act with authority in his domestic affairs, 273. His weakness with regard to madame de Verneuil, whose artifices put Sully in danger of losing his confidence, 276. She attempts to get the king's marriage with Mary de Medicis cancelled, 278. His health endangered by these domestic troubles, 281. Favours queen Margaret in her process for her mother's estates, *ib.* Labours to prevent the plots of the count of Auvergne with Spain and the protestants against him, 283. Projects with Sully a journey to the South of France, which the courtiers endeavour to dissuade him from, 285.

I N D E X.

Calumnies spread against him, 289. He sends Sully into Poitou: honours paid him by the Rochellers in the person of the governor he sends to them, 290. Good consequences of this journey, 293. Henry gets the promise of marriage, which had made so much noise, out of the hands of madame de Verneuil, 298. He causes the count of Auvergne to be arrested: his reply to the countess of Auvergne, 307. Likewise D'Entragues and the marchioness of Verneuil, 308. Cannot resolve to banish the marchioness; and for her sake pardons the two criminals, 311. Particulars relating to this affair, *ib.* The gallantries of this prince, and the dangers he runs by visiting his mistresses, 313. Henry deposits his money in the Bastile: his speech in full council upon this occasion, 316. He undertakes to have the rents registered, 323. Establishes a chamber of justice, 325. Other operations in the finances, 326. and regulations in the militia. The royal hospital for disabled soldiers, 328. Talents of this prince for government, 330. His too favourable maxims for war, *ibid.* He unseasonably prohibits any commerce with Spain, 332. He repairs this error by concluding a treaty of commerce, for which he rewards cardinal Bufalo, 335. He continues secretly to support the United Provinces, 340. His discourse with the constable of Castile, upon the agreement between Spain and England; and with Sully, upon the same subject, 347. The reception given to this ambassador, 351. Germany and Italy favourably disposed toward his great design, 353. The part he takes in the affair of the Valteline, 355. See *Grisons*, *Fuentes*. He gets possession again of the bridge of Avignon, 358. Henry purchases the earldom of St. Paul from the count of Soissons, 361. Procures his natural son to be received into the order of Malta, 367. His buildings for his manufactures, *ib.* The religious orders he allows to be established in France. 363. He renews his correspondence with the marchioness of Verneuil: pardons the counts of Auvergne and D'Entragues, notwithstanding Sully's advice to the contrary, 365. Quarrels again with the queen, 369. Permits the jesuits to demolish the pyramid: particulars of this affair, 370. Does Sully justice in the great dispute he has with father Cotton for the college of Poitiers; and reconciles them, 372. His great penetration and exact judgments of men, *ibid.* He reconciles Sully and D'Epernon,

I N D E X.

381. A dispute with Grillon about the post of colonel of the guards, in which the courtiers and Jesuits give him ill impressions of Sully, 384. Sully's letter to him, and his answer to it, 390. He discovers his error, and excuses himself to Sully, 394. The interesting conversation between them, 396. His too great propensity to raillery and witticisms, 399. And his credulity in believing false reports, 400. He places all his confidence in Sully, and gives him the first place in his friendship, 406. Justifies him against the slanders of the courtiers, 408. Quarrels with him, and is again reconciled, 411. Henry concludes a marriage between mademoiselle de Sully and the duke of Rohan, *ibid.* Gratuities and favours which he bestows upon Sully, 412. Denies him others, which he had solicited for his brother and son in law, 414. Orders Sully to demand mademoiselle de Melun in marriage for the marquis de Cœuvres, but the offer is rejected by her relations, *ibid.* Great plenty and opulence in France during his reign, *iv.* 6. An account of the debts of the state at his advancement to the throne, 7. Public edifices repaired or built by him, 8. Order and subordination established in the government, 9. Henry's stile in writing his letters to Sully: donations to several persons, 10. He establishes his silk manufactures, 12. Becomes a mediator between the princes of Europe; presents made by him to them, 13. Has the principal share in the election of pope Leo XI. and pope Paul V. rejoicings on this occasion, 14. Gives orders to Spinola, who is passing to Flanders, 22. Dissatisfied with his subjects who serve in the arch-duke's army, 23. Causes some prizes taken from Spain to be restored, 25. His politicks disapproved by his council, 26. Thought to have a design of making himself Emperor, *ibid.* Receives notice of some seditious plots against him, 29. His uneasiness about the assembly of protestants held at Châtelleraut; determines to send Sully thither; the general and particular instructions given to Sully, 30. He is attacked by a fit of the gout at Saint-Germain, 33. Receives some informations against the assembly at Châtelleraut, 43. Letters from Henry to Sully, 47. Sully explains the king's intentions to the assembly, 48. He is dissatisfied with them for not making Sully president, 52. Bouillon makes an attempt to impose upon him, but fails, 54. He

I N D E X.

He causes the Luquilles to be arrested, 58. Is very attentive to the motions of the protestant assembly, 59. Sully removes his apprehensions of the plots of the faction, 63. and terminates, to his satisfaction, the debates relating to the deputies-general, 66. and to the cautionary towns, 69. Henry complies too much with the desires of Lesdiguières in the affairs of Orange and Blacons, 70. The reception he gives Sully at his return, 75. He makes preparations for his journey into the southern provinces of France, 77. The rout he takes: he seizes several fortresses belonging to the duke of Bouillon, 79. Particulars and motives of this journey: he causes the chamber des grand jours to be held by Sully in Limosin, and returns to Paris, 83. He decides in favour of Sully, in his dispute with the count of Soissons for the quarters of the grand master of the ordnance, 86. His obliging behaviour to the deputies from Rochelle, 89. Sully, at his return from Limosin, gives him an account of his conduct, 90. Du Laurens first physician, *ibid.* Honours paid by Henry to queen Margaret, 91. He causes the castle of Usson to be dismantled, 93. His too great indulgence for duels: his blameable notion concerning the predetermination of the last moment, 100. Several instances of good fortune which he had met with, 102. John de l'Isle attempts to stab him; he pardons him, *ibid.* Sully presents medals for the year 1606. to the king and queen; a conversation between them, 103. Henry's engaging and tender behaviour to his queen, 104. Sully receives new-years gifts from him, 110. His conversation with Sully relating to the means of humbling the house of Austria, 111. Henry's intention of taking Sedan, 113. Creates Sully duke and peer, and honours the entertainment he makes on this occasion with his presence, *ibid.* His irresolution with regard to the affair of Sedan, 115. He is at length determined by Sully, 117. whom he orders to write first to Bouillon, 120. and to take proper measures with the protestants, 127. His departure, and the route he takes, 128. Dispositions made for the siege of Sedan, 131. Consents to the conference proposed by Bouillon, 132. and concludes a treaty unknown to Sully, 135. Bouillon comes to pay him homage, 138. Sully endeavours to make him turn his arms against the towns of the earldom of Saint-Paul, but cannot prevail, 139. and offends the king, by opposing his public

I N D E X.

entry into Paris, 140. A saying of Henry upon the reduction of Sedan, *ibid.* He supports the city of Metz against the Jesuits, 145. His donations to them at La-Fleche, 146. He blames father Cotton in the affair of Adrienne de Fresne, *ibid.* Refuses the clergy to publish the council of Trent, 150. His speech on this subject, *ibid.* He restrains the protestants also, and terminates, by Sully, the difference between them and the catholics at Rochelle, 151. Disgusted with the family at Rohan, *ib.* Ceremony of the baptism of the children of France, 154. He sends them to Fleury, 156. Escapes drowning at Neuilly, *ibid.* Henry's gaiety and sprightly sayings on this occasion, *ib.* Gratuities granted by him to Sully and other persons, 157. Regulations for the finances, 153. His expences for play, 161. for public works, *ibid.* A conversation between him, Sully, and some of the courtiers, upon different subjects, 163. He asks Sully's advice concerning the affairs of Flanders 171. The calm and peaceable life of this prince, 175. He takes the seals from Bellievre, and gives them to Sillery, 176. His tenderness for his children, 177. Birth of his second son, *ibid.* His fondness for hunting, 178. He stays a long time at Fontainebleau, 180. His friendship and esteem for Sully, *ibid.* He puts a stop to the prosecutions for the young d'Epinoÿ, 181. Quarrels with Sully, but immediately after makes a reconciliation with him, 182. Employs him in the synod of Rochelle, and in the dispute between Father Seguiran and the Rochellers, 185. A conversation between him and Sully, concerning the plots of the court in favour of Spain, 193. His hatred of the family of Lorrain: Sully re-assures him, and they labour together to suppress these cabals, 196. He consents that after his death his heart should be carried to La-Fleche, 190. He causes some prizes taken from Spain to be restored, 197. He follows Sully's advice to refuse the offer made him by the United Provinces to submit themselves to the dominion of the French, and to give him towns in hostage, &c. 198. The part he takes in the treaty for a truce between those provinces and Spain, 203. Causes the fort of Rebuy to be demolished, and supports the garrisons against Spain, 207. Henry protects the Republic of Geneva, 208. and the Italian princes, 209. Reconciles pope Paul V. and the Venetians, *ibid.* Reunites the finances of Navarre to those of

I N D E X.

of France, and pays the debts of the nation, 212. Punishes the disobedience of the parliaments of Toulouse and Dijon, 213. Amount of the sums expended in presents till the year 1607, 212. A bon-mot of his upon l'Argentier, a farmer of the revenue, 218. A suit at law between him and the house of Gonzague for the estates of the houses of Foix and Albret, 220. Disapproves of Sully's advice to compose the council of the men of the sword, 221. and contrary to his opinion establishes a chamber of justice, 222. He reassures Sully against his accusers, 224. Assists Fontange in the siege of Pierrefort, 226. His great care to bestow public employments upon men of merit, 229. Gratuities to several persons, debts discharged, and his losses at play, 230. His expences in buildings and manufactures, *ibid.* Henry's frequent journeys to his several palaces, his indispositions, his tenderness for his children sometimes indiscreet, 231. Quarrels between him, the queen, and marchioness of Verneuil: his letters to Sully on this subject, 232. He restores Sedan to the duke of Bouillon, 234. Occupations and amusements of Henry IV. 236. He proposes to Sully a marriage between the marquis of Rosny and Mademoiselle de Crequy, 239. Makes him great offers upon condition that he will embrace the Roman Catholic religion, 242. He reassures him against the artifices of his enemies, 246. The great wisdom of this prince in dissipating factions, 247. His amours and mistresses, 249. A long conversation of Henry's upon political and domestic plots formed against him in the queen's household, by the family of the marchioness of Verneuil, &c. 251, 252, 253. His respect for the queen, 258. Birth of his third son, *ibid.* The friendship he shews Sully upon this occasion, *ibid.* Employs him in the cabals of court. 259. Banishes the prince of Joinville for his gallantries with madame de Verneuil, with whom he quarrels, and is afterwards reconciled, 262. Joinville has another intrigue with madame de Moret, 263. He disgraces Sommerive for an intrigue with the same lady, 264. and D'Eguillon for procuring Balagny to be assassinated, 266. Other quarrels in his court, occasioned by his easiness in pardoning duels, 269. He obliges the family of Mercœur to accomplish the marriage between Mademoiselle de Mercœur and the duke of Vendome, 271. Receives informations against the house of Guise, and a

IX N D O E X

new faction, 273. Sends Sully to the assembly of Protestants at Gergeau, 276. Henry's residence in his several palaces, the private life and indispositions of this prince, his tenderness for his children, 280. He gives the bishopric of Metz to the duke of Verneuil, *ibid.* Demands made by the clergy, some granted, others refused, 282. Publick works and buildings in Paris, 284. His expences for play: maliciously reported that he endeavoured to ruin the noblemen by gaming, 285. He relieves the people after the rising of the Loire, *ibid.* Disposes of the bishoprics according to Sully's recommendation, 287. He obliges Spain and the duke of Lorraine to make restitution of their usurpations upon his frontiers, *ibid.* Regulations in the finances, 288. Brevet for the taille expediated in full council, 291. Economy and diminution of the imposts under his reign, 295. His reception of the duke of Mantua, 296. The part he has in the agreement between Spain and the United Provinces, 297. A pleasant saying of his to Don Pedro, 296. He follows Sully's advice in this affair, 297. He obliges Spain to do him justice with regard to the boundaries of Navarre and Bearn, 301. Refuses to have any hand in the revolt of the Moors, 302. Papers and medals presented to him by Sully, 307. He stays two days at the Arsenal, 309. He accuses Sully with indiscretion concerning the secrets revealed to him by father Cotton, 314. Goes to the Arsenal to communicate his uneasinesses to Sully: a long conversation between them, 319. Upon the public news, and upon his passion for Mademoiselle de Montmorency, 322. Upon the plots against his life discovered in Spain by Vaucelas, 323. Upon those causes of complaint which the queen gave him upon this subject, Villeroi, &c. 325. Upon his designs of marrying his children, 326. Upon the resolution he takes to renounce the princess of Condé, 329. Sully endeavours to remove his apprehensions, advises him, excuses the queen, and labours to make her alter her conduct, 330. Henry hastens the execution of his great designs, 333. and employs himself with Sully in composing a cabinet of state, 334. Conversation between them upon the several methods of raising money, 339. Establishment of post-horses and stage coaches, 340. Of the droit annuel: reflexions upon this operation, *ib.* Design of restoring the office of the ancient Roman censor, 345. Of destroying all tricks and unfair

I N D E X.

unfair practices in the law, and other pieces of the cabinet of state, 345. Another conversation upon this subject, 348. Henry's character of his three ministers, 352. Debts discharged, and gratuities and expences of this prince in play, buildings, &c. 356. Edict against fraudulent bankrupts and duels, 357, 359. He chastises N——; who had calumniated Sully, 360. The prince of Conde and the king complains of each; high words passed between them on account of the princess of Conde, 365. Plots against Henry, for which his passion for that princess is the pretence: Sully gives him notice of the prince's designs, 366. Henry's grief for the prince's flight: Several particulars relating to this incident, 369. False informations given him against the protestants, 377. Conspiracy against his person at La-Fleche, 378. This report ill founded, 380. Henry's journies to his several palaces, *ibid.* Treaty of the mediation of the kings of France and England, between Spain and the United Provinces, 383. Henry protects the rights of the prince of Epinoy, 384. He objects to the title of sovereign lord of Sedan assumed by the duke of Bouillon, 388. and obliges the grand duke to do him justice with regard to a slight shewn to his ambassador, 390. He consoles the queen for the death of the grand duke, *ibid.* and contracts a friendship with his successor, 392. Permits the grand signior to have a resident at Marseilles, 395. A conversation between Henry and Sully upon the death of the duke of Cleves, &c. 396. The emperor Rodolphus seeks his friendship, and promises to assist the princes interested in this affair against the house of Austria, 401. The plots of the courtiers to dissuade him from his great design, 411. The princes of Germany send a deputation to him: his conversation with Sully upon this subject, 412. He suffers himself to be prejudiced against the counsels given him by Sully: another conversation between them, 416. The sentiments with which he endeavours to inspire the duke of Vendome for Sully, 417. Preparations made for the execution of the great design: letter to the arch-duke on this subject, 421. He talks of his designs indifferently before his courtiers, 422. Conversations and letters between him and Sully: other dispositions and preparations for the great design, 426. Conspiracy against this prince: the report of it spread every where, and the discourse on this subject, 431. Pretended
prog-

INDEX.

prognostics, and Henry's own foreknowledge of his approaching death: conversations between him and Sully, and other particulars, 434. Information of a conspiracy given by Schomberg, and the affair of La Coman, 437. Henry assists at the coronation of the queen, 441. Malicious reports spread against him concerning his motives for making war, 442. He sends La Varenne to the Arsenal, 445. He himself in his way thither is murdered, 446. Particulars relating to him a few days before his death: his presages of his fate: the manner in which this parricide was committed by Ravailiac, 447, &c. The different opinions concerning the authors, and the causes of this assassination examined into, 452. Sully complains of the neglect that was shewn in prosecuting them, v. 1. The character of Henry IV. His clemency, his gaiety, his pleasant repartees, his great qualities, and his faults, 2. The ten wishes of this prince, 5, 6. His death greatly regretted, 9. Different sentiments of the courtiers upon his loss, 17. The new council governed by maxims of policy very different from his, 21. The great design broken by his death, 30. The ingratitude of the court and the ministers with respect to him, 35. Exposition on his political design. See *Political Design*.

Henrichemont. (Principality of) Purchased by Sully, v. 104.

Henrichmont. (Maximilian III. Francis de Bethune, prince of) Grandson to Sully, his undutiful behaviour the cause of his death, v. 173.

Heran. (N. de Saint). de Montmorin, refuses to obey the orders of Charles IX. at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, i. 38.

Here. (Noel de) Farmer-general, iii. 303.

Hertray. (René de Saint Denis de) Takes possession of Alençon for the king of Navarre, i. 46.

Hesse. (William, landgrave of) Comes to visit Henry IV. at Metz, iii. 67. Sully is accused of holding a criminal correspondence with him, 402. Caumartin prejudices him against the duke of Bouillon: he refuses to assist him, iv. 57. Gains France some allies in Germany, 165. His claim to the succession of Cleves, 399. See *Cleves*. His ancestors Philip and Maurice assisted by Francis I. and Henry II. against Charles V. 406. He joins with France against the house of Austria, 302. See *Political Design*.

Heudicourt.

INDEX:

- Heudicourt.* One of the members of the council of finances, ii. 42.
- Heures.* (N. d') Present at the defeat of the great convoy before Laon, ii. 43. Follows Henry IV. into Franche-Comte, 56.
- Holland.* See *Flanders.* Manufactory for linnen cloth in Paris of the same kind as that made in Holland, iv. 230.
- Holstein.* (Duke of) Satisfaction which he gives Henry IV. iv. 13.
- Honfleur.* Taken from the League by the Royalists, i. 188.
- Honorio.* (Brother) A capuchin fryar: gives Henry IV. information of a conspiracy against his life, ii. 293.
- Honorius.* Emperor of the East, v. 114.
- Horn.* (Prince of) Beheaded at Brussels, i. 194.
- Hortes.* (Viscount of) Refuses to obey the orders of Charles IX. to massacre the Huguenots, i. 38.
- Hospital.* (Michael de l') Chancellor: Charles IX. takes the seals from him, i. 19.
- Hospital of the bridge of Avignon.* (Serving brothers of the) misapply the funds destined for it, iii. 360.
- Hospitals.* Built, or repaired by Henry IV. iv. 8. Scheme for a regal hospital in the cabinet of state.
- Hoste.* (Nicholas l') One of Villeroy's secretaries, ii. 120. An account of his treason, iii. 245. Discovered by Rafis, 246. They endeavour to sieze him, 251. He escapes, 252. and is drowned in the Marne, 253. Particulars relating to this affair, ib. See *Villeroy*, iv. 302.
- Hoftrate.* Yielded to the prince of Orange, iii. 57.
- Hortmain.* Henry's agent in Germany, iv. 402.
- Houdan.* Lost by the duke of Maienne, i. 221.
- Howard.* (Lord) Admiral of England: receives the count d'Aremberg, iii. 96. Serves the Spanish faction against Sully, 108—128—176.
- Huberfon.* (Jean) And her cousin discover the conspiracy against Henry IV. carried on at La-Fleche, iv. 378.
- Huets.* Sully resides in this castle, i. 127.
- Hugh-Capet.* Sully's opinion of this king, iv. 312.
- Huguenots.* See *Protestants.*
- Hume.* (Lord) Engaged in the Spanish faction at London, iii. 108. Conducts Sully to Greenwich, 140, 163.
- Humieres.* (Charles d') Brings succours to the duke of Maienne after the battle of Ivry, i. 199. He forces the Spanish camp at Ham, and is slain there, ii. 46. His eulogium, 48.

I N D E X.

Hungary. The emperor Rhodolphus makes war against that people, ii. 294. and against the Turks, 350. Further account of this war, iii. 59, 60. Part of the grand design relating to that kingdom, iv. See *Political Design*.

Hurault. See *Chiverny Maiffes*.

J.

JACOB. (Francis) A Jesuit involved in the prosecution against Châtel, ii. 37.

Jacob. Agent and commissioner from the duke of Savoy, in the affair of the marquisate of Saluces. Comes to compliment Henry and Sully, iii. 7, 97. Discontented with the queen regent. See *Saluces, Savoy, &c.*

Jacome. (Saint-) Taken by Henry IV. iii. 319.

Jacquinet. Groom of the chamber to Henry IV. v. 7.

Jambeville. Commissioner for the tax of a penny in the shilling, iii. 3. Solicits for the office of first president at Rouen, ix. 229.

James Stuart, King of Scotland, afterwards of England: the great importance of securing his friendship after the death of Elizabeth, iii. 79. He causes his accession to the throne of England to be notified to France, 86: The design of Sully's embassy to this prince, 87. He is prejudiced against the count of Beaumont, 91. and against Henry IV. and Sully: his character and conduct, 110. The French Protestants endeavour to engage his protection, 119. He sends to compliment Sully upon his arrival, 120. Obliges him to alter his intentions of appearing at court in mourning, 121. Gives him his first audience: honours which he pays to Sully, and the public conversation between them, 123. His invective against the king of Spain and his council, 125. Praises Henry IV. *ibid.* His passion for hunting, *ibid.* The terror and hatred with which a supposed plot of the Jesuits inspire him against Spain and the archdukes, 129. The king of Spain endeavours to engage him to unite with him against France, 136. He gives a second audience to Sully, who gains his approbation of Henry's designs upon Spain and the United Provinces, 140. He promises not to support Bouillon, 145. Complains of Henry's having supported the English priests, 147. Reciprocal civilities between the pope and him, 148. He is dissatisfied with

I N D E X.

the count d'Aremberg and the Spaniards, 150. He invites Sully to dine with him: particulars of this entertainment, 153. He promises Sully to give satisfaction for the piracies of the English, 155. He gives Sully a third audience, and has a long conversation with him, in which Sully discovers to him the artifices of his ministers, 163. and discloses to him the great design of Henry IV. Precautions taken by Sully on this subject, &c. 165. See *Political Design*. James takes Sully's part against his ministers, 176. and signs the form of a treaty, 180. Sully has his audience of leave: the obliging behaviour of James to him, and the promises he makes him, 185. Reciprocal presents made by the king and Sully to each other, 187. The fears of this prince upon the arrival of the Spanish ambassador at London, and his irresolution, 190—194. His clemency in punishing the conspirators against his life, 196. New troubles in his court: he banishes the Jesuits from his dominions, 126. Sends the treaty signed to Sully, 197. Henry makes him a present of some fine horses, 198. A scheme laid by the Pope, Spain, and the Jesuits to dethrone him, 242. James takes advantage of the prohibition of commerce between France and Spain, 332. and afterwards endeavours to compose this difference, 333. Is prevailed upon to make an agreement with Spain contrary to his treaty with Henry, 341. He gives the name of Great Britain to his dominions: the bad consequences of his pacific disposition, 344. He procures a treaty between Spain and Flanders, 345. Sully's enemies raise malicious reports against him for his praising this prince, 404. He again seeks the assistance of Henry and Sully against Spain, iv. 25. His friendship for Sully, 27. He discovers and punishes a conspiracy against his life, 172. He protects the preacher Maluin, with whom Henry is offended, 188. His bad policy in endeavouring to procure a treaty for a suspension of arms, and a truce between Spain and the United Provinces, 206. He obliges his subjects to take a new oath of fidelity to him, 208. Treaty of mediation of him and Henry between Spain and the United Provinces, 383. Part of the great design relating to him. See *Political Design*. *England. Wales (Prince of)*.
James (Company of) Serves as the forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and is distinguished there, i. 193.

Janni-

I N D E X.

Jannizaries. They revolt against Mahomet III. ii. 398. and oblige him to banish the sultana-mother, iii. 202.

Jard. (Abbey of) Sully disposes of it, iii. 313.

Jarnac. (Battle of) i. 1. Errors which the prince of Conde and admiral Coligny committed there taken notice of by Henry IV. 9.

Jbarra. (D. Diego d') One of the Spanish plenipotentiaries to the states of Paris: his plots ineffectual: his faults, i. 318. Afterwards plenipotentiary from Spain and Flanders, iv. 203.

Jeannin. (René) President of the parliament of Dijon makes proposals from the league to Henry IV. i. 262. Memorial of the demands and offers he makes to Spain from the league likewise, 282. The answer of the Spanish council, 283, 284. His views and real sentiments with regard to Henry IV. Spain, and the league, 296. He proposes other conditions to Henry, 306. Who rejects them with indignation, 309. The oath which he is accused of having made to the league against this prince, 320. He is obliged to give up Leon to him, ii. 11. His advice to the duke of Mairienne, 12. Justified, *ibid.* He is employed in the composition of the edict of Nants, 181. Assists in Henry's name at the conference of Boulogne, 201. He and Villeroi made secretaries for foreign affairs, 221. Allows an article in the edict of Nants, which he is obliged to alter, 263. One of the commissioners for the treaty of Lyons, in which he favours the duke of Savoy, 342. Serves the king faithfully in Biron's conspiracy, iii. 15. Follows the king to Calais, 57. Solicits him in favour of the jesuits, 67. He assists at the council in which Sully receives his instructions for his embassy to London, 91. Endeavours to procure the recal and establishment of the jesuits, 231—298. Is made commissioner for the registration of the rents, 325. iv. 178. His services in Flanders in the affair of the suspension of arms, 200. He concludes the treaty of truce, and that of the mediation of the kings of France and England, 382. He serves Sully with the archduke in the prince of Epinoy's affairs, 423. He prejudices Henry against Sully's advice with regard to the armament for Cleves, 414. Is appointed ambassador to Flanders and England, 430. Mary de Medicis makes him one of her secret council, in which he favours the new policy, and the dissipation of the

I N D E X.

finances, v. 21. He is put at the head of the finances, 22. He joins Conchini against Sully, 40. Is used ill by the duke of Nevers and other lords, 70.

Jegun. Henry IV. retires to that place, i. 57.

Jesuits. Accused of being concerned in the plot of Barriere, and cleared, i. 341, 342. Their process against the university and the curates of Paris: particulars relating to this affair: Sully's motives for supporting them, 396. They are involved in the process against Châtel, and banished, ii. 37. Examination of this affair, and their justification, *ibid.* The pope requires Henry to recal them, 61. The council rejects their petition, 200. Henry's kindness to them, and the promises he makes them at Metz, iii. 67. Solicitations of d'Ossat, &c. in their favour, 68. They are cleared of a pretended conspiracy against the king of England, 129. Commotions raised by them in England in the affair of the English priests, 145. King James's aversion to them, 185. The affair of their re-establishment discussed: councils held on this occasion: conversations between Henry and Sully: reasons for and against repeal of their banishment: conditions upon which they are to be recalled, and other circumstances, 229, 231. They solicit Sully's protection, 240. Reflections upon this head, and the eulogium of this society, 241. The opinions of some jesuits upon grace; upon the authority of the pope; and upon confession, *ibid.* Henry gives them the college of La-Fleche, *ibid.* Memorial against their policy, 243. They foment disputes between the catholics and the protestants among the Grisons, 356. They obtain leave to demolish the pyramid: their hatred of Sully, and other particulars, 370. A great quarrel between them and Sully on account of the college of Poitiers, 372. Their cabals with the courtiers against Sully: They almost procure his disgrace, 380, 399. They endeavour in vain to settle in Metz, iv. 145. Presents made them by Henry IV. for their house at La-Fleche, 146. The affair of Adrienne de Fresne prejudices him against them, *ibid.* The part they have in the conspiracy against the king of England: their justification, 173. See *Garnet, Oldcornet, James.* They endeavour to get Father Seguiran, a preacher, received into Rochelle, 188. Henry IV. supports their college of Poitiers, 190. He consents that after his decease his heart should be deposited at La-Fleche: a smart saying on this occasion, 191. They cabal at court

I N D E X.

- court and throughout the kingdom in favour of Spain, 209. The Venetians refuse to let them settle in their dominions. They establish themselves in Bearn, 282. Jesuits mentioned by name in a letter of Father Cotton's, 316. They are involved in the pretended conspiracy of La-Fleche, and cleared, 380. They serve the emperor Rodolphus in the cruelties he exercises upon the protestants of Germany, 421. They are accused of having been concerned in the parricide committed on the person of Henry IV. and cleared of that crime, 451. Sully insinuates that they were accomplices in that crime, v. 17. They endeavour to ruin this minister. The queen regent calls them into her secret council. See *Cotton*. They unite with the pope and Spain against the protestants, 35. They endeavour to dissuade the council from the expedition of Juliers, 55. See *Council, Spain, League, &c.*
- Jewels of the Crown*. Sums expended in purchasing them, iv. 212.
- Jews*. The offers they make to the grand signior to destroy the holy sepulchre, ii. 244.
- If*. (Isle and castle of) Usurped from Henry IV. and restored to him again by the grand duke of Tuscany, ii. 380. Design of Spain upon this island, iii. 198.
- Ignace Armand*. Provincial of the jesuits: Henry IV's kindness to him at Metz, and the promises he makes him there, iii. 76. He endeavours to procure the re-establishment of his society in France, 229. An imprudent letter written to him by Father Cotton, iv. 316.
- Ignorant Fryars*. Established, iii. 213.
- Illustrious Men of Antiquity*. A conversation upon this subject between Henry IV. Sully, and the courtiers, iv. 312.
- Imbercourt*. Taken by assault, ii. 72.
- Imposts*. Reflections upon the nature of several imposts, iii. 290. Diminution of the taille, and other imposts. A new regulation made by Sully in the levying of taxes, &c. Several imposts in France: how established: reflections upon this subject, iv. 292. Accounts relating to the taille: to the royal revenues, &c. 307. Memorial upon the different methods of raising money, 340. See *Taille, Royal Revenues, Finances, &c.*
- Incarville*. Comptroller-general of the finances, made one of the members of the new council of finances, ii. 41. Supports the fraudulent financiers, 84. Concerned in the farms under borrowed names, iv. 2.

I N D E X.

- Inchi.* (Charles de Guare d') Receives Monsieur into Cambray, for which he is afterwards banished, i. 82.
- Indies.* The immense treasures drawn from these by the kings of Spain, and the cruelties committed there by Philip, ii. 247. The design of this prince to prohibit the commerce of them to all the rest of Europe, 248. They exhaust Spain, iii. 169. Design and means of depriving Spain of the commerce of the Indies, 172. See *Political Design*. Sully opposes the settlement of a colony there: observations upon this settlement, 225. The Dutch make a voyage to the East Indies, iv. 173. Article in the treaty of truce, interposition, &c. relating to the trade to the Indies, 383. See *America*, *Asia*, &c.
- Infants and Infantas of Spain.* Don Carlos. See *Carlos* (Don). Anne-Maria-Mauricette, Clara-Eugenia, Isabella. See the following articles. See also *Spain*.
- Infanta of Spain.* (Anne-Maria-Mauricette of Austria) Her birth, ii. 380. Plots in the queen's household to marry her to the Dauphin contrary to Henry's design, iv. 325.
- Infanta of Spain.* (Clara-Eugenia of Austria) The scheme of marrying her to the cardinal of Bourbon rendered ineffectual by the French lords, i. 312. See *League*, *States of Paris*, &c.
- Infanta of Spain.* (Isabella of Austria) She is married to the archduke, and made governess of the Low Countries, ii. 254.
- Infidel.* Princes. See *Muscovy*, *Turkey*, *Persia*.
- Interest.* Of eight or ten per cent. abolished, ii. 354.
- Invalid Soldiers.* An establishment made for them, iii. 328.
- Invincible.* A fleet of Philip II. so called, vanquished and dispersed, ii. 247.
- Joannini.* Agent from the grand duke of Tuscany for the marriage of Mary de Medicis with Henry IV. iii. 11, 24. Cabals in the queen's household with the Spanish party, 34. Sully's conversation with him upon the insult received by our ambassador at Rome, from the duke of Tuscany's ambassador, 99.
- John.* (Don) Of Austria: gains the battle of Lepanto, i. 10. Lays the scheme of the League with the duke of Guise, 98.
- John I.* King of France, submits to the authority of the states of the kingdom, iv. 294. *Joigny.*

I N D E X.

- Joigny.* Lost by Clermont Tonnerre, i. 215.
- Joinville.* (Claude de Lorraine, prince of) Cabals with Spain. Is arrested, and pardoned by Henry IV. at Sully's entreaty: his character, iii. 36. Disgraced for his gallantries with the marchioness of Verneuil and the countess of Moret, iv. 263. His quarrel with the prince of Conty, 269. Grants which he procures from the queen regent, v. 77.
- Jon.* (Du) One of the courtiers whom Henry IV. allowed to live familiarly with him, v. 7. His advice to Sully after the death of that prince, 11.
- Jours.* (Grands). See *Chamber des Grands Jours*.
- Jouffeaume.* Receiver-general of the finances, arrested at Milan by Sully's diligence and hanged, iii. 49.
- Joyeuse.* (Anne duke of) Marshal of France, leads the Royalist army against the League, and suddenly turns it against the protestants, i. 99. His discourse to Sully on this occasion, ib. Leads the army of Henry III. and the League into Guyenne, 114. Marches against Henry IV. into Poitou, 128. The design of Henry III. by giving him the command of this army, 131. He takes St. Maixant, Maillezais, &c. 132. Sully defeats one of his squadrons, and narrowly misses taking him prisoner, ib. His troops ill treated in his absence, 134. He returns and puts himself again at their head, 137. An instance of his generosity, ibid. He is defeated and slain at the battle of Coutras: the errors he committed there; and the particulars of this battle, 139—143. He was one of the favourites of Henry III. ii. 15.
- (Antony Scipio, knight of Malta, afterwards duke of). His party in Provence, i. 270. He besieges Villémur, 171. Is defeated there, and drowned in the Tarn, 275.
- (Claude de). See *St. Sauveur*.
- (Francis de). Cardinal: endeavours to justify, at Rome, the assassination of the Guises, i. 157. Is sent by the duke of Maienne into Spain, 347. Commissioned by the pope to dissolve the marriage of Henry IV. with Margaret de Valois, ii. 288. Advises Henry to give the government of Poitou to Sully, iii. 214. Is sent to Rome to the conclave, 257. Sully confers with him upon the means of pacifying the two religions, iv. 142. Is proxy for Paul V. at the baptism of the Dauphin, 155. Employed by Henry to compose the difference between the pope and the Venetians, 209. He prejudices Henry

I N D E X.

against Sully in the affair of the armament of Cleves, 414, 423. Is appointed by that prince one of the council of the regency, 430. Mary de Medicis makes him one of the public council, v. 21.

Joyeuse. William de, i. 99.

—— (Henry count of Bouchage, duke of). A capuchin friar, and cardinal: one of Henry III's favourites, ii. 15. Concludes a treaty with Henry IV. 73. Sum paid him at this treaty, 227. He marries his daughter to the duke of Montpensier, and enters again among the capuchins: a smart saying of Henry's upon him, iv. 154. His death, 285.

—— (Henrietta-Catherine de). Marries the duke of Montpensier, ii. 281.

Ireland. Elizabeth subdues the rebels there, who had been supported by Spain, ii. 396.

Is. An estate purchased by Sully, iii. 312, 365.

Isabella. Her example proposed to Henry IV. by Sully, iii. 120.

Isle. (N. de L') An officer in the train of artillery, iv. 349.

Isle-Adam. (L') Taken by the royalist army, i. 171.

Isles. (The affair of). See *If*, *Pomeque*, &c. i. 171.

Islet. (Fort of) Built upon the Scheld by the Spaniards, iii. 345.

Issire. A victory gained by Henry IV's party there, i. 204.

Italy. Part of the great design relating to it, iii. 173. Henry IV. gains the friendship of the princes of Italy, 352.

See *Political Design*. The debts due by France to Italy discharged by Sully, iv. 212. Comedians sent for from Italy by Henry IV. 235. The princes and states of Italy unite with Henry against the house of Austria, 326. Ambassadors appointed for Italy. Part of the great design relating to Italy with respect to religion, v. 128. and policy, 149. See *Political Design*.

Jubila. (Secular) A magnificent ceremony at Rome, iii. 450. The king and queen go to Orleans, 361.

Juliers. Duchy and dukes of this name: a dispute concerning the succession to it, iv. 396. See *Cleves*. Siege And reduction of this place by the confederate princes, v. 54.

Juigneaux. Governor of Vendome, v. 64.

Jurisdictions. Offices to be created in them upon occasion, iv. 340. See *Bar*, *Bailiwicks*, *Sovereign Courts*.

Jury.

I N D E X.

Jury. (Battle of) Phenomena which preceded it, i. 193.
Errors committed there: a particular account of this battle, 194.

Juigny, or Divigny. One of Sully's enemies, iii. 399.
His memorial, 401. Henry IV. punishes him, 408.

K.

KENLOS. One of the Scotch faction at London, iii. 108. Deputed to the count of Aremberg, 152.
Favours the French interest, 194.

L.

LAGNY. Taken by the prince of Parma, i. 210.

Lambert. A contractor, ii. 135.

— Sent to France by the prince of Orange, to break off the negociations for a peace between Spain and the United Provinces: his artifices, iv. 297.

— (Saint) A party of pleasure made by Henry IV. there intercepted by the arrival of the Spaniards, i. 409.

Landerau. (Charles Rouhaut Du) Attempts to surprize La-Rochelle, i. 19.

Landgrave. See *Hesse.*

Langlois. Sheriff of Paris: contributes to get Henry IV. received into that city, i. 374. Agent for Margaret de Valois in the dissolution of her marriage with Henry IV. ii. 286.

Langoiran. (N. de Montferrand de) Makes his escape at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29. Takes Sully's part against Bouillon, 51.

Langres. They refuse to admit the jesuits there, iii. 371.

Languedoc. Deputies from this province to Henry IV. ii. 82.
What passed between the two parties, 98. Henry transfers the states to the Lower Languedoc, 384. This province an ancient fief of the crown: not alienated, iii. 358. Its registers united to the domain: a dispute on this subject between Sully and the parliament of Toulouse, iv. 212.

Languetot. A counsellor of the parliament of Rouen, in the party of Henry IV. ii. 84.

Lansac. The younger, attempts to surprize Rochelle, i. 19.

Lansquenets. They betray Henry IV. at Arques, i. 180.

Are

I N D E X.

- Are cut in pieces at the battle of Ivry, 196. They mutiny at the siege of Rouen, 230.
- Laon.* Besieged by Henry IV. i. 390. The succours which Maïenne endeavours to throw into this place defeated: the great diligence and labours of Henry IV. at the siege, 401. He refuses to give the government of Laon to Biron, 409. The Spaniards march towards it with all their forces, 410. But cannot prevent its being taken, ii. 8. 10.
- Large.* (Baron de La-) Defeats a detachment of the duke of Aumale's army, i. 220.
- Larry.* (Saint) See *Bellegarde, Thermes.*
- Laval.* Taken by Henry IV's party from the League, i. 188.
- (Charlotte de). First wife to the admiral Coligny, i. 16.
- (Guy de). Son of D'Andelot. See *Andelot.*
- (Guy count of). Proposed for a husband to mademoiselle de Sully, ii. 138, 139. iii. 211. This marriage broken off, 411. See *Fervaques.*
- (Urbain de). See *Bois-Dauphin.*
- Lavardin* or *Lavardin.* (Charles de Beaumanoir de) Murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 31.
- Lavardin.* (John de Beaumanoir de) Marshal of France, i. 51. Takes Sully's part against Frontenac and Bouillon; ib. A single combat proposed to be fought between him and La-Devese, 57. He quits the party of Henry IV. 64. A trick played him by Chicor, 99. La-Tremouille forces him to abandon the post of Coutras, 139. He commands the king's forces in Burgundy, iii. 28. Is made governor of Perche, and Maïenne: resigns the government of Poitou in favour of Sully, 216. who purchases Montricoux of him, v. 105.
- Launoi.* (N. de) Contributes to the defeat of the duke D'Aumale, i. 220.
- Laurens.* (Andrew Du) Physician to Henry IV. ii. 320. Is made first physician, iv. 90. Henry IV. sends him to the marquis of Rosny, who was ill, 178.
- League.* (The) The cause of the great power of the Guises, i. 59. Raise the standard of rebellion, 97. Its origin: weak beginnings: and its progress, 98. The heads of the League assemble at Châalons, 100. Oblige Henry III. to join them, and dispose of his troops as they please, 105. They send three armies against Henry IV. 116. Towns and fortresses which they take and lose, 127. They defeat the foreign forces at Auneau, 149. The day of

I N D E X.

of the Barricadoes, on which Henry III. is obliged to leave Paris: their insolence before and after this action, 150. The weakness and the errors of this prince's conduct give them courage, and they oblige him to grant all their demands, 155, 157. He puts himself under their protection, after the murder of the Guises, 159, 160. The success of the arms of the two kings against them, 171. And of Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. 185. Sixtus V. foretells their defeat, *ib.* They lose Meulan, and take Pontoise, 189. Seize Rouen, 191. And are beaten at Noyon: other losses sustained by them, 219. Henry deprives them of great part of Normandy, 223, 225. They send troops to the siege of Rouen, 237. They make proposals and offers to Henry IV. Their troops defeated at the attack of St. Denis, and at the pass of La-Vienne; but they gain the battle of Craon, 265. Lefdiguieres disconcerts their designs upon Provence and Dauphine, 270. Their troops defeated at Villemur, 274, 275. Conditions proposed by them to Philip II. and his answer to them, 282. Their distrust of one another, 284. Sully negotiates with them for Henry IV. 298. The conditions which they want to impose upon the king, 305. They disagree with the states of Paris, 312—316. Their plots, and the oath they take against Henry IV. 320. They send a deputation to this prince, 329. The wife conduct he observes with them after his abjuration, 336. They employ some monks to murder Henry, 341. They retire to Soissons at the reduction of Paris, 375. Lyons, and several other cities, forsake them openly, 390. They support the jesuits in their process against the university, &c. 399. Their partizans for the duke of Maienne in Burgundy defeated, *ii.* 14. They oppose the declaration of war against Spain, 35. Are driven out of Dijon and Talon, 51. Defeated with the Spaniards at Fontaine Françoise, 53. They submit to Henry IV. 73. Military expeditions in different provinces; some successful, others unfortunate, 98. A list of the treaties made, and sums paid by Henry IV. at the extinction of the League. Their partizans set Martha Broffiere to work. They murmur at Sully's embassy to London, *iii.* 78. Jesuits, &c. justified for their attachment to the League, 237. A powerful faction in Europe conducted upon the maxims of the League, 244. Adopted likewise by many persons in

I N D E X.

- in the court and council of Henry IV. 372. Their motives for hating Sully, 398. Debts contracted by France during the League, iv. 7. The partisans of the League cabal with the Spanish ambassador against the power of Henry, and his designs, 190. Debts contracted on account of the League paid by Sully, 212. The aversion of Henry to the policy and favourers of the League, and to their schemes, 272. They labour to dissuade him from his great designs, 410. See likewise upon this whole article, *Guise, Maïenne, Villeroi, Jeannin, Jesuits, Pope, Spain, Courtiers, &c.*
- Leagues Grises.* See *Grifons.*
- Lennox.* (Earl of) One of the Scotch faction at London, iii. 105, 119—129. Sully makes him presents, iv. 19.
- Lenoncourt.* (Philip cardinal of) Deputed to the court of Henry IV. i. 104. 119. Assists at the conferences between Catherine de Medicis and the duke of Guise. See *Barricades.*
- Leo X.* (Pope) His conduct blamed by Sully, iv. 142.
- Leo XI.* (Pope) Great rejoicing in France for his advancement to the pontificate: his death, iv. 16, 17.
- Leonora Galigai.* See *Galigai.*
- Leopold.* Archduke of Austria. The emperor Rodolphus gives him the investiture of Cleves: his proceedings with Henry IV. upon this affair, iii. 110. See *Cleves.*
- Lepanthe.* (Battle of). i. 10.
- Lecques.* (Antony du Pleix de) Succours Villemur, i. 274.
- Lerma.* (Duke of) Favourite of Philip III. iii. 127.
- Lefdiguières.* (Francis de Bonne de) Constable: commands the forces of Henry IV. in Dauphiné, i. 116. Disconcerts the designs of Spain and the Duke of Savoy in Provence, ii. 27. He drives the Duke of Epemon from Provence, ii. 27. Other exploits against the Duke of Savoy and Epemon, 98. He informs Henry IV. of the Duke of Savoy's designs, 298. His services during the campaign of Savoy, 321—328. Is made marshal of France, and governor of Piémont, by the advice of Sully, 345. Accused of corresponding with Biron, iii. 287. Thanks Sully for procuring the post of colonel of the guards for the marquis of Riquy: Sully's complaints of him, 409. His deputies excluded from the assembly of Châtelleraut, iv. 39. 50. The rage with which he acts against Blaccons in the affair of Orange, 47. Bouillon's jealousy of him, 55. His plots at Châtelleraut for the establishment of a protestant republic, &c. disconcerted by Sully, 61. Henry IV. is apprehensive of

I N D E X.

- of his designs, 75, 150. His conferences with the heads of the protestants under him suspected, 186. The motives which induce Henry IV. for marrying the marquis of Rosny into this family: disputes, plots, and complaints against Sully, on occasion of this marriage, 239—245. Henry IV. resolves to give him the command of the army in Italy, 422. See *Political Design*. Villeroi rails at him in the queen-regent's council, and Sully defends him, v. 71.
- Lefignan.* (Lewis de Saint-Gelais de) A protestant officer, 49.
- Lefine.* Attached to Sully, ii. 333.
- Letters of Henry IV.* The prodigious exactness he discovers in them, and his attention to the most minute particulars, ii. 159—382. The esteem and affection he expresses for Sully, iv. 178. See, upon the contents of these letters, the articles *Henry IV. Sully, &c.*
- Lettres.* (Belles). See *Belles Lettres*.
- Leucate.* The designs of the rebels upon this place, iv. 42.
- Lewis.* See *Caylus-Ventadour, Mirepoix*.
- Lewis le Debonnaire.* Character of this king, v. 116.
- Lewis the Young.* His character, v. 117.
- Lewis.* (Saint) His edict against duels, iv. 96. He commands his son to abolish the taille, 294. Character of this prince, 313.
- Lewis Hutin.* Takes an oath at his coronation, to submit to the authority of the states of the kingdom, iv. 293.
- Lewis XI.* Value of the taille in his reign, iv. 293. Character of this King, 313.
- Lewis XIII.* His fondness for Sully, v. 16. He holds his bed of justice, and confirms there the regency of Mary de Medicis, 17. Preparations made for his coronation, 54. Quarrels among the grandees and ministers at this ceremony, 68. The reception he gives Sully: his happy dispositions, 74. He rewards Sully's services, by giving him the staff of a marshal of France, 171. He is against him in his process with his grandson, which is the cause of his death, 175. Sully's austere reply to him, 182.
- Lewkenor,* master of the ceremonies in London. Disobliges Sully, iii. 96.
- Lhuillier,* (John) Lord-mayor of Paris: contributes to get Sully received there, i. 374.
- Liancourt.* (Nicholas d'Amerval de) Marries the fair Gabriella. See *Estrees* (Gabriella d'). Particulars relating to this marriage, ii. 279.

Liancourt,

I N D E X.

- Liancourt.* (N. Du Pleffis) First equerry of Henry IV. receives this prince at Liancourt, and injures Sully there, ii. 102. He is appointed by Henry IV. one of the members of the council of regency.
- (Madame de). See *Eftrees* (Gabriella d').
- Libels.* (Satyrical) against the government, very common in the reign of Henry IV. iii. 399.
- Liberge.* Valet de chambre to Sully, i. 124.
- Lichani.* One of the undertakers for paving the streets of Paris, iv. 293.
- Lieramont.* (Francis de Dampierre de) Governor of Catelet, ii. 16.
- Lieffe.* Henry takes a journey there, iii. 188.
- Ligne.* (L'Amoral, prince of) Endeavours to deprive the princes of Epinoy of their estates, ii. 294. Refuses to marry mademoiselle de Melun to the marquis de Cœuvres, iii. 414.
- Ligne.* (John de) Count of Aremburg. See *Aremberg*.
- Ligny.* (Mary de Melun, princess of) Henry IV. and Sully oblige her to do the princes of Epinoy justice, with regard to their estates, iv. 384.
- Ligny.* His party in Provence, i. 270.
- Lille.* (John de) A madman, who attempts to assassinate Henry IV. iv. 102.
- Limeuil.* Henry IV. assists the duke of Bouillon to take this place, iv. 125.
- Limosin.* Military exploits between the two parties in this province, ii. 98. Henry's journey thither, iii. 12, 14. A second journey taken by Henry and Sully to Limosin, to seize the cities of the duke of Bouillon, iv. 78.
- Linghen.* Taken by Spinola, iv. 23.
- Livarot.* (John d'Arces de) One of the favourites of Henry III. ii. 15.
- Livre.* (La-) Apothecary to Henry IV. his account paid, iv. 10.
- Livron.* The duke of Montpensier fails in his attempt upon this place, i. 44. As likewise Henry, ii. 329.
- Lognac.* The assassin of the duke of Guise, dies miserably, iv. 10.
- Lognac.* A protestant captain. Gratuities granted him by Henry IV. iv. 10.
- Loire.* Advantages from joining it with the Seine and the Soane, iii. 322. The canal of Briare, 331. See *Briare*. A great inundation of this river in 1608. iv. 285.

Lombardy.

INDEX.

- Lombardy.* (Kingdom of) A project for establishing it in favour of the duke of Savoy, iv. 112.
- Lomenie.* (Antony de Brienne de) Secretary of state, ii. 143, 221. The queen regent admits him into her council, iii. 257.
- Lomenie.* Sent by Henry IV. to Sully, iv. 208.
- Loncaunai.* A protestant gentleman, saved at the massacre of Paris, i. 29.
- Londe.* (La) Mayor of Rouen, for the league, i. 178.
- London.* Sully's magnificent reception there, iii. 96. The hatred of the citizens to the French, 102. breaks out on occasion of the fact committed by Combaut, 108. Factions which prevail there: not customary to treat ambassadors, 123. The people rise against the Spaniards, and praise Sully's conduct, 131. Honours he receives at his departure, 187. The troubles owing to his stay, 196.
- Longa.* (N. de) A protestant, i. 113.
- Longchamp.* Proposed for deputy of the church of Pons, iv. 186.
- Longuet.* One of Sully's enemies at court, iii. 399.
- Longuet.* Presents a memorial upon purchasing of the domaine to Henry IV. iv. 221.
- Longueville.* This family beloved by Sully, v. 67.
- Longueville.* (Henry d'Orleans de) Continues with Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. 168.
- Loppes.* A protestant gentleman, present at the defeat of the great convoy sent to Laon, i. 408.
- Lorges.* Surprises Châteaudun, i. 168.
- Lorrain.* The forces of Lorrain defeated, and Dun, Stenay, &c. taken by the duke of Bouillon, i. 265. Lorrain separates from Spain, and unites with France, ii. 35. Success of the arms of Lorrain in the war of 1595. 36. Restitution made by Lorrain of its usurpations upon the frontiers of Champaign, iv. 287. Henry IV. designs to re-unite that territory to France, by marrying the heiress to the Dauphin, 325. Part of the great design which relates to Lorrain. See *Political Design*. See also *Lorrain* (Charles II. duke of).
- Lorrain.* (Family of) Hated by Henry III. iv. 234. The fancied claims of this family to the crown, 319. Their plots, &c. with the states of Paris, v. 12.
- Lorrain-Guise.* See *Guise*, and the following articles.
- Lorrain.* (Charles of) Duke of Guise. See *Guise*.
- (Charles, cardinal of). i. 12. His death, 44. He forms the scheme of the league at the council of Trent,

I N D E X.

- Trent, 97, 98. His real sentiments upon religion, 104. His pretensions upon Metz, 150.
- Lorrain*. (Charles, cardinal of). Bishop of Strasbourg.
- Henry IV. puts an end to the war, and the process between him and the prince of Bavaria for this bishopric, iii. 67. His death, iv. 284.
- (Charles of). Duke of Maienne. See *Maienne*.
- (Charles of). Duke of Aumale. See *Aumale*.
- (Charles II. duke of). His plots with the states of Paris useless, i. 312. His treaty with Henry IV. at the extinction of the league, ii. 227. The princess Catherine refuses to marry him, 255. He makes an agreement with Henry for the possessions belonging to the duchess of Bar, iii. 228. Comes to France, and stands godfather to the princess Christina, iv. 156. Henry IV. obliges him to make a restitution of all that he had usurped upon the frontiers of Champaign, 287. His design of marrying his daughter to the Dauphin, 325. Disputes with him concerning the boundaries of the country of Messin terminated, 359. Grants made him by the queen regent, v. 76.
- Lorrain* (Charles-Emanuel de). Count of Sommerive. See *Sommerive*.
- (Claude de) A stem of the house of Guise. His children, i. 12.
- (Claude de). Duke of Aumale. See *Aumale*.
- (Claude de). Prince of Joinville. See *Joinville*.
- (Francis de). Duke of Guise. See *Guise*.
- (Francis de). Grand prior of France, i. 12.
- (Henry de.) Duke of Guise. See *Guise*.
- (Henry de). Duke of Bar. See *Bar*.
- (Henry de). Count of Chaligny. See *Chaligny*.
- (Lewis de). Cardinal of Guise. See *Guise*.
- (Nicolas de). Count of Vaudemont. See *Vaudemont*.
- (Philip-Emanuel de). Duke of Mercœur. See *Mercœur*.
- (René de). Duke d'Elbeuf. See *Elbeuf*.
- (Catherine-Mary de). Duchess of Montpensier. See *Montpensier*.
- (Frances de). Mademoiselle de Mercœur. See *Mercœur*.
- (Lewis de). See *Vaudemont*.
- (Lewis-Margaret de). Mademoiselle de Guise. See *Guise*.

Lorraine.

I N D E X.

Lorraine. (Mary de) de Guise, Queen of Scotland; i. 13; iii. 271.

—— (Duchess of). Falls dangerously ill: compliments made her by the king and queen; iv. 295.

Lotbario. Duels authorised in his time, ii. 495.

Loudun. Errors in the conduct of the prince of Condé and admiral Coligny at the skirmish of Loudun, taken notice of by Henry IV. i. 9. Assembly of protestants held in this city: Sully's services there, v. 171.

Love. Why this passion is dangerous to princes, ii. 247.

Amours of Henry IV. See *Mistresses*.

Loufange. (Lewis Francis de) One of the chief royalists in Limosin, ii. 98. The city of Bourg taken by following his counsel; ii. 316.

Louvieres. Sully not able to take it, i. 178. Taken by Henry IV: 223.

Louvre. Henry IV. begins to build the great gallery there; iii. 78.

Luat. (Ange Capel du) Composes a book upon the finances; ii. 242.

Luc. (Francis d'Epinoy de Saint-) Grand master of the ordnance, contributes to the reduction of Paris, i. 374. Present at the siege of Laon; ii. 15. One of the favourites of Henry III. His exploits in Brittany, 144. 151. His death and character.

Luc. (Saint-) Goes to London with Sully; iii. 94. Receives him in Poitou, 296.

Lullins. Agent and commissioner from the duke of Savoy in the affair of Saluces, ii. 284—301.

Lune. (Don Sancho de) Commands a body of Spanish troops in Italy; iii. 202.

Luneburg Brunswick. See *Brunswick*.

Luquiffes. Provincial gentlemen. Their imprisonment and process, iv. 58. Their punishment, 83.

Lusignan. Taken by the duke of Montpensier, i. 44.

Luffan. Pardoned by Henry IV. iii. 221.

Lux. The place of rendezvous for the army of Henry IV. ii. 53. See *Fontaine Française*.

Lux. (Edmund de Malain, baron de) Negotiates the conversion of Henry IV. i. 319. The part he had in the battle of Fontaine-Françoise, ii. 54. He advises Biron to go to court, iii. 15. Obtains his pardon, after he had made a free confession to Henry IV. and to Sully, 29. Is deputed by this prince to the parliament of Dijon, iv. 213.

INDEX.

Luxembourg. Alliances of this house with the house of Bourbon and Bethune, ii. 171.

——— (Henry de) Duke of Piney. Ambassador to Rome, ii. 202. His process with the parliament, iii. 45.

——— (Sebastian de). See *Martigues*.

——— (Mary de). See *Martigues*.

Lyons. Seized by the princes, i. 20. Surrenders to Henry IV. notwithstanding the efforts of the duke of Nemours to prevent it, 289. Its canons refuse to allow the duke of Savoy's claim of honorary canon, ii. 299. Henry's stay in this city in his way to Savoy, 309. Henry solemnizes his nuptials with Mary of Medicis there, 342. Process carried on by this city against Feydeau, iv. 220.

Lyre. (Abby of) Belonging to cardinal Du-Perron, iv. 21.

M

M*ACARY.* (Saint-) Lost by the protestants, i. 49.

Madame Catherine de Bourbon. Duchess of Bar. Is sent back by Charles IX. to her brother, i. 8. Her taste for diversions, 53. Her love for the count of Soissons, 146. She is the cause of his journey to Bearn, 267. She gives him a promise of marriage, 351. which she afterwards puts into Sully's hands, 353. Sully is sent to her by Henry IV. to break off this marriage: conversations between them, ii. 84. She endeavours to deprive him of the king's favour, 92. Henry takes the farms from her which she enjoyed in his name, 234. Several matches refused by her: she at length consents to marry the duke of Bar: obstacles raised to this marriage by Rome and the clergy, 254. A conference is held to persuade her to change her religion, but to no purpose, 257. She comes to visit the king at Metz, and receives him at Nancy, iii. 66. A dispute between Henry and the duke of Bar, on account of the succession to her estates, 227. Particulars relating to her death, her character, and the dispensation for her marriage, ib.

Madrid. (Castle of) or Boise de Boulogne. Queen Margaret resides there for some time: honours paid her by the king and queen, iv. 91.

Maes. The utility of joining this river with the Saone, iii. 322.

Mabomet

I N D E X.

Mahomet III. His character: the Janizaries and the city of Constantinople revolt against him, ii. 398.

Mainne. This city taken by Henry IV's party, ii. 74.

Maïenne. (Charles of Lorraine, duke of) Takes Brouage, i. 59. Commands the army of the league in Guyenne; takes some towns there, but cannot surprise Henry IV.

114. Marches to Tours, where he narrowly misses taking Henry III. and is driven from thence by Henry IV.

165. His troops defeated at Arques, 181. Forced to abandon Dieppe, and marches towards Paris, 185.

A saying of Sixtus V. upon him and Henry IV. *ibid.*

He takes Pontoise, and loses Meulan, 189. Loses the battle of Ivry, 190. Faults committed by him there: Particulars of this battle, 193. Encounters at Noyon, &c. where his troops are beat, 219. He loses Mante and Houdan, 220. He punishes the insolence of the sixteen, 237. Joins his forces with those of the prince of Parma, 249. His advice the cause of the checks this prince meets with in the neighbourhood of Rouen, 251. Memorial of the proposals made by him to the king of Spain, and the conditions which he was willing to impose upon the league, with the answers to them, 282. The arts he practises against the Spanish party and his own nephew, and the faults he commits at the meeting of the states of Paris, 310, 312. The parliament oppose him, 315. The measures taken by him to exclude Henry IV. from the throne, 316. He endeavours to render the king's abjuration useless, 334. Opposes the deputation from the Parisians to this prince, 336. Demands a new truce; which is denied him, 346. Takes the government of Paris from the count of Belin, and gives it to Brissac, by whom he is betrayed, 371, 374. He baffles the designs of the duke of Nemours, *ibid.*

Marches to the assistance of Laon, but cannot hinder it from being taken, 401. Endeavours to secure Burgundy, ii. 12. Which revolts from him, 14. Errors in his conduct upon that occasion, 51. He makes his treaty with Henry IV. who treats him with great kindness at Monceaux, 106. Sum of money paid him upon making his treaty. He gives Henry satisfaction for the behaviour of the count of Sommerive his son: services done him by Sully on this occasion, iv. 202—

218. Henry accuses him with opposing the marriage between Mademoiselle de Mercœur and the duke of Vendome, 271. He refuses to sell his domain of Antibes

I N D E X.

- tibes to the king, iv. 288. Henry appoints him of the council of the regency, 202. Mary de Medicis makes him one of her public council, v. 21. Grants which he procures from the queen regent, 77.
- Maïenne* (Mademoiselle de) Henry IV. refuses to consent to her marriage with the marquis of Rosny, iv. 238.
- Maïenne*. (City of) Taken by Henry IV. i. 188.
- Maignon*. Sully's valet de chambre: gives him a seasonable assistance at the siege of Paris, 171. Saves his life at the battle of Ivry, 194. Carries him in triumph to Rosny, 201. Of great use to him at the siege of Rouen, 231. ii. 333.
- Maignan*. A doctor of the Sorbonne. Attends Biron upon the scaffold, iii. 14.
- Maillezais*. Taken by Henry IV. i. 127. Retaken by the league, 132.
- Mailloc*. (Saint Denis) Goes into the service of the archduke in Flanders, iv. 23.
- Mailly*. (James de). See *Benebart*.
- Maine*. (Le) An enemy of Sully's, iii. 399.
- Mainfroy*. Competitor with Charles of Anjou, i. 6.
- Maintenon*. (Lewis d'Angennes de) Misses taking Chartres for the league, i. 167. Makes an agreement with the Maintenons for the abbey of Coulon, iii. 78.
- Mayor*. (Lord) of London. Sully's proceedings with him on the affair of Combaut, iii. 103.
- Maisses*. (Andrew Hurault de) His services against the rebels, i. 399. He is admitted into the council of finances, ii. 31. Where he unites with Sully, 135. Is appointed one of the commissioners in the affair of the marquisate of Saluces, 301. Present at the council wherein Sully receives his instructions for his embassy to London, iii. 86. At the council for repealing the banishment of the jesuits, 231. One of the commissioners in the affair of the earldom of St. Paul, 361.
- Mitre*. (John le) See *Parliament, State of Paris, Maïenne*.
- Maius*. (Alexander) A jesuit: accused of being an accomplice of Chatel, ii. 37.
- Maius*, or *Maio*. (Laurence) A jesuit: labours to procure the settlement of his society in France, iii. 229. His promise to Henry IV. in the name of this society, 237.
- Maxient*. (Saint) Retaken by the league, i. 132. Henry IV. and Catherine de Medicis confer together at this

I N D E X.

- this place, 130. Synod held there, ii. 7. The government refused to Sully, iii. 414.
- Maixence.* (Bridge of Saint) Being ill guarded, obliges Henry IV. to retire from Paris, i. 186.
- Mallasse.* (N. de Mesmes de) i. 3. Deputed by Catharine de Medicis to Rochelle, 14.
- Malderet.* Deputed by the United Provinces to Henry IV. v. 147.
- Malicorne.* (John de Chourfes de) Unable to succour Talmont, i. 121. Resigns the government of Poitou in favour of Sully, iii. 216.
- Malta.* (Knights of) They take Canise, and destroy Passava, ii. 298. Henry IV. procures his son Alexander to be received into that order, iii. 373.
- Maluin.* A protestant preacher : protected by king James, iv. 188.
- Mamert.* (Saint) Sully insulted there by the officers of the count of Soissons, ii. 43.
- Mandelot* (Francis de) His humanity to the protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, i. 30.
- Mandercheidt* (John). See *Strasbourg*.
- Mandoc.* (Bernardin de) Proposals and offers made by him from Spain to Henry IV. i. 91. Other offers from Spain made by d'Entragues 337. Henry IV. sends La Varenne thither, 339.
- Mandoc.* (Ignatius de) One of the Spanish plenipotentiaries to the states of Paris, i. 310.
- Mangot.* Sully quarrels with him, iv. 224. Mary de Medicis makes him one of her council, v. 169.
- Manicamp.* (Philip de Longueville de) Lieutenant for the duke of Vendome in the government of La Fere, ii. 73. Sent to Flanders upon the prince of Condé's flight, iv. 376.
- Manou.* (John d'O de) One of the catholic leaders in the party of Henry IV. i. 293.
- Mansfield.* (Charles) Leads a Spanish army into France during the sitting of the states of Paris, i. 310. Takes Noyon, 317. and La Capelle, 391. Unable to prevent the loss of Laon, 401. Is defeated by the duke of Bouillon, ii. 38. Loses an opportunity of fighting with the army of Henry IV. at Amiens, 157, 159.
- Mante.* The government of it refused to Sully, and given to his brother, i. 205. The duke of Maienne fails in his attempts upon this city, 220. Henry IV. resides there before the reduction of Paris, 225. Conferences upon religion held there, 325. and an assembly of protestants

I N D E X.

testants, 336. The value of this government in money given to Sully, iii. 217. He causes a bridge to be built there.

Mantua. In what manner this principality passed into the family of Gonzague, iv. 155. The designs of Henry IV. upon the territory of Mantua, 326.

—— (Vincent de Gonzague, Duke of) Brother-in-law to the queen, iv. 154. The reception given him by Henry IV. at Paris, 295.

—— (Eleonora de Medicis, duchess of) Godmother to the Dauphin; comes into France to perform this ceremony: they give her the precedence of the princes of the blood, iv. 154.

—— (Eleonora de Gonzague, princess of) Henry IV. proposes to marry her to his third son, 295.

—— (Margaret de Gonzague, princess of) Henry IV. proposes a marriage between her and the duke of Bar, iv. 13. She is taken ill, iv. 295.

Manufactures of fine stuffs. Do not succeed at first at Tours, ii. 294. Reflections on this subject, 296. Henry IV. establishes them contrary to the advice of Sully, iii. 221. Sully opposes the re-erecting of buildings for them, 362.

Mar. (Earl of) One of the Scotch factions at London, iii. 108. Deputed to Sully, 148—163.

Marabat. Excluded from the general deputation at the assembly of Chatelleraut, iv. 66.

Marais. (Mademoiselle du) Daughter-in-law to the duke of Sully; married by Henry IV. to La Boulaye, iii. 412.

Marc. (Saint) Driven out of Meulan by d'Aumont, i. 176.

Marc d'Or. A subsidy destined by Henry IV. for the maintenance of his household, ii.

Martade. A jeweller, iv. 357.

Marcel. (Emerigot) A rebel. i. 6.

Marchand. (Charles La) Gives his name to the bridge Marchand, iv. 284.

Marechausses. General and particular regulations for them in Berry, iv. 217.

Marescot. A physician sent for to Monceaux during the sickness of Henry IV. i. 397.

Margaret de Valois, queen of France. Celebration of her nuptials with Henry IV. i. 27. She leaves him, and returns to court, where she quarrels with her mother and brothers, 92. Negotiations for the dissolution of

INDEX.

of her marriage commenced, ii. 185. Sully endeavours to procure her consent to it by letters, which she answers favourably, 192. Particulars relating to her life, *ibid.* Her hatred to the duchess of Beaufort, 204. The affairs of the dissolution of her marriage resumed, and completed: processes of her conduct on this occasion, &c. ii. 286. Henry IV. obliges the count of Auvergne to do her justice with regard to the inheritance of Catherine de Medicis: praises of her moderation and disinterestedness, iii. 281. Sully goes to her, to confer with her concerning the cabals of the disaffected party, iv. 40. She quits the castle of Usson, which she consents should be demolished: and resides in the castle of Madrid: honours which she receives there from the king and queen: her great confidence in Sully, 91. Particulars of her life: her death: her good and bad qualities 92. Presents which she makes to the duke and duchess of Sully, 110. She assists at the baptism of the children of France, 155. Gives the dauphin her mother's estates, which are augmented in their value by Sully, 229.

Marguerit. Advocate general of Rouen: favours granted by Henry IV. to his children, iv. 356.

Marie. (Sainte) Requested by Henry IV. iv. 229.

Margine. A commissary in Britany, iv. 218.

Marillac. Engaged in the gallantries of Henry IV. iv. 249.

Marine. The deplorable condition it was in at the time of the peace of Vervins, ii. 226. Regulations for its establishment, iv. 226. Schemes for this purpose, 336. See *Cabinet of state.*

Marion. Sully's letter to him, iv. 290.

Marivault. (Claud de l'Isle de) Present at the battle of Aumale, i. 238. At the siege of Laon, 404. At the defeat of the grand convoy, 405.

Mark. (La) Earldom and counts of this name: how this principality became united to the duchy of Cleves, iv. 396.

Mark. (William Robert de la) Brother to the duchess of Bouillon: his death and last will, i. 225.

Mark. (Robert de la) Father to the duchess of Bouillon, i. 225. He held Sedan under the protection of Francis II. iv. 125.

Mark. (Charlotte de la). See *Bouillon* (duchess of).

Markham. (Lord) Conspires against the king of England, iii. 196.

INDEX

- Marle.* (Castle of) Henry IV. resides there in his youth, i. 409.
- Marmande.* Lost by Henry IV. i. 51 Skirmishes before this town, 68, 70.
- Marmoutier.* Henry IV. narrowly escapes being taken there by the duke of Maienne, i. 167.
- Marne.* L'Hote drowned in attempting to swim over this river, iii. 253.
- Maroniere.* Governor of Tolmont, i. 121.
- Marquemont.* (Denis de) Archbishop of Lyons. Endeavours to procure a dissolution of the marriage between Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois, ii. 187. Is refused a cardinal's hat, iii. 258.
- Marquette.* A Flemish officer: commands the succours to Ostend, iii. 339.
- Marquets.* (Des) Signs a writing of discharge for the effects of the duchess of Bar, iii. 229.
- Marseilles.* Its reduction by the duke of Guise, ii. 27, 28. Deputation from thence to Henry IV. 82. Sum paid at its surrendering, 496. Biron's party endeavour to get possession of this city, 392. Designs of Spain upon the isles, iii. 200. Insurrections which happen there upon the prohibition of commerce with Spain, 332. Schemes of the disaffected party to seize it, iv. 29. The troubles in this city pacified, 165.
- Marfilliere.* (N. de) A protestant officer: deputed to Germany, i. 121.
- Marteau.* (Michael) de la Chapelle. Traverses Villeroi's treaty with Henry IV. i. 361, 380. What passes between Sully and him with this governor, 381. He leaves Rouen, 382.
- Marthe.* (Messieurs de Saint) Friends of Sully: their letters justify him against the calumnies of father Cotton in the affair of the college of Poitiers, iii. 377.
- Martigues.* (Sebastian de Luxembourg de) ii. 167.
- Martigues.* (Mary de Beaucaire, duchess of) Leaves the duke of Mercœur with Henry IV. ii. 167. Visits Sully, 171. She raises obstacles to the marriage of the duke of Vendome with mademoiselle de Mercœur, iv. 271.
- Martin.* A physician, sent for to attend Henry when he lay ill at Monceaux, ii. 210.
- (Charles le Clerc de Saint) Slain at the taking of Cahors, i. 66.
- (N. de Saint) First gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king of Navarre, ii. 97.
- Martin.*

I N D E X.

- Martin.* (Madame de Saint) Wife to the first president, related to the princess Catherine, ii. 97.
 — (Madame de) Her reception of Sully her nephew, i. 89.
Martinbault. Sully lodges at his house at Rouen, ii. 82.
 113.
Martinengue. His party in Provence, i. 271.
Matela. Governor of Foix. Throws himself into Calais, and surrenders it to the Spaniards, ii. 63.
Matignon. (James de) Marshal of France. He takes Montgomery prisoner, i. 43. Judgment upon his procedure, *ibid.* He commands an army in Guyenne: loses Costets, 113. Henry IV. escapes him, 114. Joyeuse fights the battle of Coutras without his assistance, 139. He refuses to succour Villemur, 274. Henry makes him one of the council of finances, ii. 31. He defeats the Crocans, and raises the siege of Blaye, 99.
Matignon. (Odet de). See *Thorigny*.
Matthias, Archduke of Austria. The United Provinces offer him the sovereignty over them: but are afterwards disgusted with him, i. 77.
Maubuisson. (Abbey of). See *Estrées* (Angelica d').
Maugiron. (Francis de) One of Henry III.'s favourites, ii. 15.
Mauleon. Taken by Henry IV. i. 127.
Mauleville. A contractor, ii. 136.
Maupeou. Opposes the re-establishment of the jesuits, iii. 234. iv. 113, 217. Appointed by Henry IV. one of the council of the regency, 203.
Maur. (Saint) Sully treats there for the union of the two kings, i. 117. Henry IV. resides for some time in this castle, iv. 231.
Mauververt. (Nicholas de Louviers de) Wounds admiral Coligny, i. 25.
Maurier. (Benjamin Aubrey du) His letter to Bouillon, iii. 39. 74. The service he does him in the affair of Sedan, iv. 120—123. Benefits conferred on him by Sully, and his advice to him after the death of Henry IV. v. 91.
Maussac. Commissary in Languedoc, iv. 290.
Mauvesin. (Synod of) A deputation from it to the duke of Bouillon, iv. 66.
Maximilian I. (Emperor) Philip II. endeavours to deprive him of the empire, ii. 247. His claims upon the Low Countries contestible, iv. 397.

Maxi-

I N D E X.

- Maximilian II.* (Emperor) His dispositions with regard to the territories of Cleves, Juliers, &c. iv. 399. See *Cleves*.
- Meaux.* (Enterprize of) i. 20. Vitry surrenders this city to Henry IV. 347.
- Medavy.* (Charles Francis Rouxel de) One of the general officers of the league, ii. 178. He commences a treaty with Sully, 343. Concludes it, 359. Difficulties raised to this treaty, v. 1. The money paid him.
- Medicis.* (House of) Of late date, iv. 391.
- Medicis.* (Alexander de) Cardinal of Florence, negotiates for the peace of Vervins, ii. 166. Sully receives him at Paris, and at Saint Germain, 210. He is made pope. See *Leo XI.*
- Medicis* (Catherine de) Queen of France. Unsuccessful in the war against the protestants, i. 2. Deceives them by the peace of 1570, 3. Favours the princefs of Lorraine through her hatred to the house of Bourbon, 13. Occasion of her interview at Baïonne with the duke of Alba, 19. Her artifices to draw the huguenots to Paris, 20. The measures she takes to ruin the protestants: massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 21. Particulars and reflections on this subject, 25. The grandees join the huguenots against her, 41. Her schemes for the establishment of her children, *ibid.* Charles IX. hates her, *ibid.* Her artifices to disunite Henry IV. and Monsieur, 45. She deceives them both by the peace called Monsieur's peace, 48. Conferences in several places between her and Henry IV. But without effect, 61. Methods made use of by her to draw every one of his officers from him, *ibid.* Her letter to the prince of Condé, in which she thanks him for having taken arms against the king, 72. Her schemes to procure the sovereignty of the Low Countries and the kingdom of Algiers for the duke of Anjou, 75. Her treachery in treating with Sully, 91, 92. She loses an opportunity of suppressing the league, and of uniting the Low Countries to France, 100. Reflections upon her bad policy, 127. She goes into Poitou, and has several conferences with Henry IV. Sully penetrates into her secret designs, 130, 131. A saying of hers which proves that she was very indifferent about religion, 130. Several negotiations between her, the duke of Guise, &c. after the action of the barricadoes, 150. She reconciles Henry III. and the Guises, 156. Her death, 158. Disadvantageous character of this

I N D E X.

this princess, 159. She opposes the marriage of the princess Catherine with Henry III. 254. Her last will in favour of her daughters, iii. 281. The value of her estates, *ibid.* Margaret disposes of her inheritance in favour of the dauphin, iv. 212.

Medicis. (Côme II. de) Grand duke of Tuscany, succeeds Ferdinand: insult given by his ambassador to the ambassador from France at Rome, for which Henry obliges him to give satisfaction, iii. 99. Henry engages him in his interests, 102.

—— (Eleonora de). See *Mantua* (Duchess of).

—— (Ferdinand de) Grand duke of Tuscany, marries Mary de Medicis in the name of Henry IV. ii. 314. He surrenders the isles of it to this prince, 380. Plots of his ambassador at Madrid against the designs and person of Henry III. iii. 36. His death, 99. Henry IV. comforts the queen for it: Speech of Ferdinand to the French ambassadors, 102.

—— (Francis Marie de) Grand duke of Tuscany: marriage of his daughter to Henry IV. proposed and concluded, ii. 291, 293.

—— (D. John de) A bastard uncle to the queen: comes with her to Paris, ii. 349. Stands proxy for the grand duchess of Tuscany to the princess Christiana of France, iv. 26—229. He advises Henry IV. to send Conchini back to Italy, and the queen forces him to leave France, 255, 257.

Medicis. (Mary de) A marriage proposed between her and Henry IV. ii. 291. The grand duke marries her in the name of the king, 316. She arrives at Lyons, where her marriage is compleated, 342. She comes to Fontainebleau, afterwards to Paris, where Sully entertains her at the arsenal: Italians in her train, 350. Goes to keep the jubilee at Orleans, 361. Becomes pregnant and is delivered of the dauphin: a speech of Henry's to her, and some particulars relating to the birth of the child, 376. He gives her Monceaux, 377. She follows the king to Blois, iii. 4. This prince takes a severe resolution against her and the Italians, 12. He discloses to her his design of arresting Biron, 19. Birth of the princess Elizabeth of France: Henry's extreme tenderness to the queen during her lying-in, 56. He takes her with him to Metz, 64. His advice to her when he thought himself dying, 83—85. Sully presents medals of gold and silver to her, and receives presents from her in return, 226. Uneasiness which

I N D E X.

which she gives the king by her jealousy and bad temper, 264. Sully advises her on this subject, but she will not listen to him, and he endeavours to reconcile them, 267. Grants which she procures from the king, 271. Sully persuades her to write a submissive letter to the king, 272. They are reconciled, and quarrel again by the artifices of the marchioness of Verneuil, 273. Mutual complaints between her and Sully, who forbears to engage any more in their quarrels, 286. Other quarrels between her, the king, and the marchioness of Verneuil, which Sully endeavours to appease, 274. Presents made to her by Henry IV. and to the officers and women of her household, iv. 10. She attends the king in his journey to Auvergne, &c. 82. Visits and honours paid by her to queen Margaret, 92. A curious conversation between her, the king, and Sully upon their disputes, 103. She makes complaints of Henry, 107. A pleasant saying of this prince to her, upon the birth of her second daughter, *ibid.* He refuses to take those measures which Sully proposes to terminate their quarrels: presents made by her to Sully, 108. She favours the Spanish policy against that of the king, 112. Attends this prince in his expedition to Sedan, and favours the duke of Bouillon, 128. Procures the duchess of Mantua precedence of the princes of the blood, 154. Escapes being drowned at Neuilly, 156. A familiar dialogue between her and the king, 167. Birth of her second son, 177. New quarrels between her, the king, and the marchioness of Verneuil: she pawns her jewels, 230. Sully again endeavours to compose their quarrels: particulars and anecdotes on this subject, 250. Henry's complaisance to her. Birth of his third son, *ibid.* She gives the king dangerous advice against the protestants, 274. She goes to Chartres, 316. Her friendship for father Cotton, *ibid.* Plots against the life of Henry IV. carried on among the people of her household, 322. This princess both blamed and justified on this subject, 329. She permits the dukes to enter the courts of the Louvre in their coaches, 333. Grants which she procures for Leonora from Sully, 356. Consequences of her jealousy of the princess of Condé, 363. Henry IV. comforts her for the death of the grand duke, 390. He appoints her regent during the execution of his great designs, 430. She insists upon being crowned in opposition to the desires of Henry, 431. Justification of this princess, and other particulars relating to her in the account

INDEX.

account of Henry's assassination, 440. She sends for Sully to the Louvre : the reception she gives him, v. 14. The parliament declare her regent, 17. Her secret council composed of persons whose maxims of policy are directly opposite to those of Henry IV. 21. The count of Soissons endeavours to get her regency annulled, 23. Difficulty of appeasing the quarrels between the princes of the blood, 26. An extraordinary council held upon the affair of Cleves, in which she will not follow Sully's advice, 29. A particular council, wherein, contrary to Sully's advice, she takes measures against the duke of Savoy, 33. Her policy wholly opposite to that by which Henry IV. governed himself, 35. Bears Sully ill-will for his connexions with the prince of Condé, 42. She receives this prince coldly, but afterwards gains him by gratuities, 46. Her dissimulation with Sully, 54. She sends an army to the siege of Juliers, 55. She secretly determines to dismiss Sully, 58. She sends him a comptant, which he refuses to sign, 60. Her reasons for sending for Sully from Montrond, 69. The gracious reception she gives him, 72. Conchini gives her bad impressions of him, 76. A profusion of gratuities, grants, and favours bestowed by her upon the grandees, 77. Mortifications which she gives Sully, 79. She supports Villeroi and d'Alincourt against him in the affair at Lyons, 81. Sully resigns his employments of superintendant of the finances and governor of the Bastile ; brevets and recompences which he receives for them, 86. Different opinions upon his proceeding in this respect, 87. Letters between her and Sully, wherein she promises him her protection, 95. She gives him a considerable augmentation of his pension, 99. She is obliged to yield to the protestants in the assembly at Chatelleraut, 162. and to the duke of Rohan in the affair of St. John d'Angely, 164. She asks Sully's advice upon the rebellion of the princes : her letters to him, 165.

Medor. One of the conspirators at La-Fleche, iv. 378.

Megrin. (Paul Stuart de Cause de Saint-) A favourite of Henry III. ii. 15.

Meillant. Secretary to the council of finances, ii. 42.

Meilles (Count of) A protestant officer, i. 57.

Melun. Henry IV. escapes being assassinated there, i. 341.

—— (House of) And distinguished persons of this name, i. 7. See the following articles.

—— D'Epinoy. See *Epinoy*.

Melun.

INDEX.

- Melun*. de Ligne. See *Ligne*.
 ——— de Roubais. See *Roubais*.
 ——— (Hugh de). Viscount de Gand, i. 7. Sully loses this inheritance, 77.
 ——— (Anne de) Lady de Rosny, i. 7—77.
 ——— (N. de), Henry IV. gives him the abbey of Moireilles, iii. 412.
 ——— (Mademoiselle de) Her relations refuse to marry her to the marquis de Cœuvres, iii. 414.
Menager. Deputed from the states of Blois to Henry IV. i. 58.
Mende. Taken by Fosseycr, ii. 177.
Menebault. (The agreement of Saint-) iii. 361.
Menelay. (The marchioness of) Takes the habit of a nun, iv. 319.
Menencourt. Counsellor to the parliament of Rouen: in the party of Henry IV. ii. 82.
Mercœur. (Philip-Emanuel de Lorraine, duke of) Is by Henry III. imprudently made governor of Brittany, i. 185. Defeats the royalists at Craon, 266. His schemes disconcerted by Sully, 282. His plots with the states of Paris ineffectual, 312. His success in Brittany, 226. ii. 98. Henry IV. makes preparations for a journey into that province, to drive him from thence, 165. A bon-mot of his with regard to his pretended claims upon Brittany, *ibid.* Methods which he makes use of to obtain his pardon, 167. His party in Brittany suppressed, 170. The sum he receives upon making his treaty, 227. He goes into Hungary to serve the emperor in his wars, ii. 294. He is made lieutenant-general there, 350. He takes Albe-Royale from the Turks, 398. Particulars relating to his death: his eulogium, iii. 60. Henry IV. purchases the tower of Bouc from him, iv. 12. His son serves in the expedition of Sedan, 131.
Mercœur. (Frances de Lorraine de) Contracted to the duke of Vendome, ii. 169. Great difficulties in accomplishing their marriage, iv. 271.
 ——— (Mary de Luxembourg, duchess of). The methods she makes use of to move Henry IV. in favour of her husband, ii. 167, 169. Sully is reconciled to her, 170. Obstacles raised by her to the marriage of her daughter with the duke of Vendome, iv. 271.
Merens. Obtains a gratuity from the king, iv. 10.
Merovius. Character of this king, v. 116.
Merovingians. Character of this race, *ib.*

I N D E X.

- Mefmes.* (N. de) i. 3. Deputed by Catherine de Medicis to Rochelle, 14.
- Mefmes.* (John- James de). See *Raiffy*.
- Mefmin.* (Mademoiselle de Saint) Sully falls in love with her, but afterwards subdues his passion, i. 94.
- Mefnil.* (Du) Captain of the old palace of Rouen in the king's party, ii. 82.
- Mefnil-Bafir.* Counsellor of the parliament of Rouen in the king's party, ii. 82.
- Meffier.* A jeweller, iv. 363.
- Mefillac.* (Raymond de Rastignac, de) Succours Ville-
mur, i. 274.
- Metz.* Henry IV. goes thither and drives out the Sobol-
las: other motives for this, and the consequences of
it, iii. 63. Sully supports this city against the jesuits,
iv. 145. The duke of Verneuil is made bishop of it:
right of this chapter, 280. A dispute concerning the
boundaries of Messina terminated, 357.
- Meulan.* Taken by D'Aumont and Sully, i. 176. The
league made a fruitless attempt upon it: Henry IV.
runs great dangers in succouring it, 189, 190. Other
dangers which he escapes there, 341.
- Meyragues.* (Lewis D'Alagon, or Lagonia, baron de). His
crime and punishment, iv. 83.
- Miatte.* (St. Paul de La) Assembly of protestants held at
this place. Designs formed against Henry IV. i. 101.
- Michau.* (Captain) An adventure which Henry IV. has
with him, i. 97.
- Michel.* Vayvode of Transilvania: defeated by George
Basse, ii. 398.
- Michel.* (Saint) This town taken by Henry IV. ii. 317.
- Michel.* (Saint) Deputed by Henry IV. to Sully, 101.
He informs Sully of the intended assassination of Henry
IV. 278.
- Mignon.* (Nichole) Attempts to poison Henry IV. his pu-
nishment, ii. 305.
- Mignonville.* A protestant officer, i. 121. Commands the
artillery at Coutras, 140.
- Military.* (Affairs and regulations belonging to it) Part
of the troops disbanded, ii. 199. The miserable con-
dition to which the civil wars had reduced it, 226.
Establishments for the invalid soldiers, and other re-
gulations, iii. 328. Order in military discipline restor-
ed, iv. 9. Schemes for this purpose, 336. A useful
regulation in military discipline projected by Henry IV.
v. 158.

Milly.

I N D E X.

- Milly.* (Conferences of) The subject treated of there, ii. 342.
- Milon.* A protestant officer: occasions the taking of Mo-
usegur, i. 73.
- Mines of gold, silver, &c.* Discovered in France, iii. 54.
- Ministers of State.* Character of a perfect minister, ii. 213.
What sort of persons were then called ministers and
secretaries of state: the title of minister not much in
use, 221. Maxims of Sully upon this employment,
iii. 387. How kings ought to behave to ministers, iv.
184. Faults which they often commit. Qualities ne-
cessary to be possessed by ministers of state, 286.
- Miolens.* A city taken by Henry IV. ii. 319.
- Mioffens.* (Henry D'Albret, baron de) One of the prote-
stant lords, i. 51. ii. 97.
- Mirande.* A snare laid by its inhabitants for Henry IV. i.
57.
- Mirande.* Deputy general from the protestants, iv. 279.
- Mircbau.* (James Chabot de) His behaviour at the battle
of Fontaine Françoise, ii. 54.
- Mirepoix.* (Louisa de Bethune, marchioness of) Her in-
gratitude to the duke of Sully her father, v. 105.
- Miron.* First physician to Henry III. his speech to this
prince. See *Henry III.* He assists at the conferences af-
ter the barricadoes, i. 157.
- (Francis) Lieutenant civil, and intendant of Paris:
Biron's discourse to him upon the scaffold, iii. 24. His
death, iv. 282. His opposition to the registering the
rents: particulars relating to his life: Sully's generosity
to his family. ib.
- Mistresses of Henry IV.* Their names: the children he had
by them, iv. 247.
- Moisset.* A contractor, iii. 291.
- Mole.* (Joseph Bonniface de La) Beheaded, i. 43.
— (Edward). His opposition to the duke of Maienne:
See *States of Paris.*
- Molina.* A jesuit: his opinion concerning grace, iii. 241.
- Momier.* Concierge of St. Germain en Laye, ii. 212.
- Monaco.* Spain usurps this principality, iii. 352.
- Monarchy.* (Universal) Proofs that Charles V. Philip II.
and Philip III. formed schemes for it, iv. 110.
- Monarchal Government* preferable to all others.
- Monceau.* (Du) Commissary in Berry.
- Monceaux.* Henry IV. goes frequently thither, ii. 162.
108. 164, 210. He gives that house to the queen, 380.
And carries on great buildings there, iv. 259, 380.

INDEX

Monteaux. (Marchioness of). See *Estreus* (Gabriella de).

Moncenis. A protestant town, iv. 279.

Moncontour. (Battle of) i. 9.

Mondoucet. (Claude) Resident in the Low Countries, i. 27.

Money. That of Spain very common in France, i. 343. Abuses in it corrected, and new regulations, ii. 354. Foreign money prohibited, 355. The carrying of coin out of the kingdom prohibited, 357. The value of it raised, and reckoning by livres established, iii. 50. Maxims and reflections upon these operations, *ibid.* Edicts concerning the coin, troubles occasioned by them, *ibid.*

Monks. See *Friars.*

Mons. Taken by the prince of Orange, i. 16.

Monsegur. Taken by the protestants, 73.

Monfieur. (Gamaliel de) Sent by Henry IV. to draw out the garrison from Sedan, iv. 234.

Mont, (Du) or Des-Monts. Sent into Canada, iii. 225. — (St. Mary du). A protestant gentleman, well affected to the king, ii. 266.

Montaffié. (House of) in Piedmont. Sully dissuades Henry IV. from purchasing the estates of that house, ii. 382. A quarrel on this occasion between the count of Soissons and Sully, v. 26. The queen-regent favours the count of Soissons in this affair, 60.

— (Lewis, count of) Marries his daughter to the count of Soissons, ii. 381.

— (Anne de) Marries the count of Soissons, ii. 381.

Montagne. A conversation between him and De Thou. See *Thou (De).*

Montagu. Taken by the protestants, i. 65.

Montataire. Deputed to Sully by the prince of Condé, v. 43.

Montauban. A cautionary town given to the protestants, i. 3. It maintains its privileges, 40. Assembly of protestants held in this city: tumults among them, 101. Their eulogium upon Henry IV. iii. 216. Taken by Lewis XIII. Sully's services at this siege.

Montauban. Receiver-general, iii. 326.

Montausier. A protestant officer. Present at the battle of Coutras, i. 140.

Montbazan. (Lewis de Rohan, duke of) i. 104. The reception he gives Sully, 112. Present at the battle of Saveuse, 168. Is killed at Arques, 182.

I N D E X.

- Montbazen.* (Hercules de Rohan, duke of) Sully's friendship for him censured, iii. 402. Henry IV. lives with him at Livry, iv. 320. Appointed one of the regents, 202. Involved in Ravallac's conspiracy, 230. Deputed to Sully by the queen regent, v. 14.
- Monte.* (Horace Del-) Commissioner from the Pope for the dissolution of the marriage between Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois, ii. 288.
- Montespan.* Attends Henry IV. In the campaign of Savoy, ii. 341.
- Montferrat.* Henry IV. has a design upon this principality, iii. 12.
- Montglat.* (Lewis de Harlay de) First steward of the household to Henry IV. He is sent by that prince to meet the foreign army, i. 148. An interview between Henry and Sully at his house, iii. 56. He is resident from France in Germany, iv. 131. Appointed ambassador to the Porte, 430.
- Montglat.* (Madame de) Governess to the children of France: shews the Dauphin in Paris, iii. 362. Presents made her by Henry IV. iv. 10. by Sully, 105. Carries the children of France to Noissy, 231.
- Montgommery.* (Gabriel, count of) Kills Henry II. in a tournament, i. 13. Escapes at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 32. Returns into France, 43. Is taken and executed: the opinion of the author concerning the promise that was said to be given him by Matignon, 43. His son, 50, 140.
- Montguyon.* Henry IV. occupies this post. See *Contras*.
- Montignac-La-Comte.* Taken by the duke of Maienne, i. 116.
- Montigny.* (Francis de la Grange de) Present at the defeat of the grand convoy sent to Laon, 405. Henry IV. is wounded by Chatel as he was giving him audience, ii. 36. That prince refuses him the post of grand master of the ordnance, 155. Makes him governor of Metz, and the country of Messin, iii. 64. Sully's friendship for him calumniated, 402. A quarrel between him and the duke of Epemon, iv. 269. The queen regent declares for Epemon against him, v. 77.
- Montigny.* A castle belonging to Sully, v. 128.
- Montlieu.* See *Contras*.
- Montluc.* (Blaise de) Marshal of France: commands in Languedoc, i. 40. His opinion concerning the siege of Rochelle, ib.

I N D E X.

Montluc. (John de). Bishop of Valence : reveals the secret of the court concerning the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29.

Montluc-Balagny. See *Balagny*.

Montluel. Taken from the league, ii. 38.

Montluet. (Francis D'Angennes de) Sent by Henry IV. to Bouillon, iv. 55. His opinion upon the enterprise of Sedan contrary to Sully's ; and endeavours to dissuade Henry from undertaking it, 116.

Montmagny. A rich citizen of Paris, iv. 12.

Montmartin. Treats for the government of Poitou for Sully, iii. 216. Sent to the Grisons on the affair of La-Valteline, iv. 69, 177. Deputed by the king to assist at the synod of Rochelle, 186.

Montmelian. A conversation between the duke of Savoy and Sully, concerning this place, ii. 299. Crequy takes the city, and Sully makes preparation for besieging the castle, 317. He lays siege to it, and obliges it to capitulate: the labours he endures, and the dangers he exposes himself to during this siege, 330—336.

Montmorency, (Anne de) Constable of France: he rekindles the war, i. 12. Is very powerful in the reign of Henry II. an account of his ministry, ib.

———— (Charles de). De Danville, admiral : an important service done him by Conchini, v. 64.

———— (The Chevalier de). Seizes the Luquisses and other rebels, iv. 58.

———— (Francis de), Called the marshal de Montmorency: sent to Rouen to punish the injuries committed against the protestants, i. 15. Sent to London to treat of a marriage between queen Elizabeth and the duke of Alençon, 18. Refuses to come to court, 31. Charles IX. spares the lives of his brothers at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, that he might not provoke him, ib.

———— (William de). See *Thore*.

———— (Henry de). Called successively marshal de Danville, marshal and constable de Montmorency : he joins the protestants, i. 45. His opinion of the duel between Turenne and Duras, 65. He gives the protestants good counsel, 103. Commands the troops of Henry IV. in Languedoc, 116, 123. Supports his party in Dauphine, 271. Succours Villemur, 274. Is made constable: his successes in Dauphine, ii. 38. His reasons for entreating Henry to come into Burgundy, ibid. He opposes Sully's entrance into the council of

I N D E X.

finances, 100. He gives a ball at court, 131. Sully gains his approbation of his method of managing the finances, 236. The death of his second wife, 271. He is appointed one of the commissioners in the affair of the marquisate of Saluces, ii. 299. And for the peace of Savoy. Serves the king but indifferently on that occasion, 341. Commands the troops left in Piemont, 349. He is suspected of being an accomplice with Biron, iii. 28. Henry IV. restores him to his favour at the entreaty of Sully, 30. He and his family intercede for the count of Auvergne, 33. He does Sully a service, 56, 212. He favours the repeal of the jesuits banishment, 229. Is employed in the prohibition of commerce between France and Spain, 333. Henry causes the forest of l'Aigle to be divided between himself and the constable, iv. 13. He draws up the process against the Luquisses, 58—188. Henry IV. designs to marry mademoiselle de Vendome to his son, 246. He is appointed one of the members of the council of regency by this prince, 202. He offers his services to Sully after the death of Henry IV. v. 14. The queen regent makes him one of her council, 21. He assists at it, and takes Sully's part against Bouillon, 64. His quarrels with the grandees and the ministers, 65.

Montmorency, (Charlotte de). See *Angouleme* (duchess of).

———— (Charlotte Margaret de). Henry IV. will not consent to her marriage with the marquis of Rosny, iv. 238. but destines her for the prince of Condé, 271. She is married to him contrary to Sully's advice: motives of this marriage, and the passion of Henry for this princess, 321. Henry promises Sully to renounce his passion, 327. Sully's prudent advice to him on this occasion, 333. The plots and discontent of the prince of Condé, 365. Her husband carries her to Flanders: particulars relating to their flight, 369. Disadvantageous reports raised against the honour of this princess, 372.

———— (Hippolita de). See *Epinoy*.

———— (Louisa de Budos). Wife to the constable; her death, ii. 271.

Montmorency-Crevœœur. See *Creveœœur*.

Monemorency-Du-Hallot. See *Hallot*.

Montmorin. See *Saint-Heran*.

Montpazier and *Villefranche*. These towns surprized by the inhabitants of each other, i. 50.

Mont-

I N D E X.

Montpensier. (Francis de Bourbon, duke of) Takes Fontenai and Lusignan, i. 44.

——— (Francis de Bourbon, duke of). Raises the siege of Livron, i. 44. Attends Monsieur in Flanders, 85. and endeavours to dissuade him from the treachery he committed at Antwerp, 86.

Montpensier. (Henry de Bourbon, duke of) Commands the royal forces in Normandy, i. 185. An account of this expedition, 223, 225. Henry III. to blame in taking the government of Brittany from him, 185. He loses the battle of Craon, 265. Is wounded at the siege of Dreux, 326. Sully reconciles him and the count of Soissons, 348. The part he has in the treaty with admiral Villars, 364. Receives a recompence from Henry IV. 376. He proposes to this prince to make the governments hereditary, and sovereignties, ii. 64. He acknowledges his fault, and repairs it, 66. Henry sends Sully to him upon some false accusations, 81. And designs to marry him to the princess Catherine, 84. He marries the heiress of the house of Joyeuse, 281. Is suspected of being concerned in Biron's conspiracy, iii. 28. Gives Sully his interest for obtaining the government of Poitou, 216. His friendship for him calumniated, 402. His death, iv. 242. Henry IV. destines his only daughter for the second son of France, 326.

Montpensier. (Catherine Maria de Lorraine, duchess of) The clemency and generosity of Henry IV. to this lady, i. 376, 377.

Montpensier. (Maria de Bourbon) Only daughter of Henry duke of Montpensier: she is contracted to the second son of France, iv. 326.

Montpezat. (Henry des Pres de) Sent by the duke of Maine into Spain, i. 347. Serves the league, ii. 98.

Montreuil. Henry IV. makes his entry there, ii. 11.

Montrichard. Henry III. and Henry IV. have a conference there, i. 163.

Montricaux. An estate purchased by Sully, v. 105.

Montrand. An estate of Sully's, to which he retires during the coronation of Lewis XIII. motives which induced the queen regent to recall him, v. 68, 104. Improvements made by Sully in this castle, 188.

Moors. In Spain, i. 10. They revolt, and implore assistance from France; which they cannot obtain, iv. 302. They are banished out of Spain, 306.

I N D E X.

- Mora.* (Christopher de) A favourite of Philip III's, ii. 244, 252.
- Morand.* A contractor, ii. 297.
- Moreau, or Moree.* (The commander) Offers made by him to Henry IV. on the part of Spain, i. 92.
- Moreilles.* (Abbey of) Given to a nephew of Sully's, iii. 413.
- Moret.* Sully receives the king there, ii. 43. Henry purchases that house, iv. 157.
- Moret.* (Jaqueline de Beuil, countess of) Presents which she receives from Henry IV. iv. 10. Her character: anecdotes relating to her life, 10. Other presents made her by Henry, 161. He goes to see her, 178—235. Her children by him, *ibid.* An intrigue between her and the prince of Joinville, 263. She endeavours to ruin Sully, 360.
- Morette.* (Count of) One of the duke of Savoy's commissioners in the affair of Saluces, ii. 15.
- Morfontaine.* Keeper of the royal treasure, ii. 116.
- Morgan.* The count of Auvergne's agent. His seizure, and process, iii. 296.
- Morges.* His information against Lefdiguieres, iii. 286.
- Morienne.* (Saint John de) Taken by Henry IV. ii. 319.
- Morinville.* A gentleman attached to Sully, i. 108.
- Morisques.* See *Moors*.
- Morlais.* Taken by D'Aumont, ii. 11.
- Morlas.* One of the heads of the protestants: he changes his religion, and is greatly esteemed by Henry IV. 296. See *Salette*.
- Mornay.* (Philip Du-Plessis) i. 110. He cures Henry IV. at La-Mothe-Freron, 160. He is made governor of Saumur, 163. A letter which Henry IV. sent to him upon his treaty of union with Henry III. 164, 165. A letter from him to Henry IV. after the battle of Amale, 245. He interposes in the conversion of Henry IV. 319. Serves Villeroi in his treaty with the king, 377. Cabals in the protestant party during the siege of Amiens, ii. 151. Causes an article to be inserted in the edict of Nantes, by which it is obliged to be amended, 266. His public dispute with Du Perron, 305. His plots at London, iii. 119. The king of England speaks to Sully in his favour, 129. He plots in favour of Bouillon, and against the pope, *ibid.* 213. He excites the protestants to rebellion, Sully

I N D E X.

- Sully excludes his deputies from the assembly of Châtelleraut, and disconcerts his schemes there, iv. 50—69. He endeavours to break off the enterprize against Sedan, 115. Farther account of his plots with the protestants, 273. Sully justifies him to the king against a slander that was raised against him, 377. He openly supports Sully's party against the court, and the council of the queen regent, v. 163. See *Chatelleraut*.
- Mornay*. (Peter de). See *Baby*.
- Morofini*. (John Francis) The pope's nuncio. Henry III. dares not oppose him, i. 162.
- Morsan*. (Barnard, provost of) Procured justice to be done to the huguenots at Rouen, i. 15.
- Mortier-Choisy*. A contractor, iv. 356.
- Mulberry-Trees*. Ordered by an edict to be planted in the kingdom, iii. 54. Henry has them cultivated contrary to Sully's advice, 137. Stuffs made of the bark of these trees, iv. 12.
- Muscovy*. Part of the great design relating to this state, v. 131. See *Political Design*.
- Mothe*. (Valentine de Pardieu de la) Brings troops to the assistance of the league at the siege of Rouen, i. 237. His death, ib.
- Mothe-Frelon*. (La). Henry IV. is taken ill at this place, i. 160.
- Motte*. (Bridge of the) The two kings have an interview there, i. 165.
- Motteville*. President of the parliament of Rouen. In the party of Henry IV. ii. 82.
- Mouffy*. (N. Bouthillier de). ii. 16. Defeats a body of forces belonging to the league, 38.
- Mouffy*. (Father) A jesuit. His letter on occasion of the quarrel about the college of Poitiers, iii. 378.
- Moutiers*. Taken by Henry IV. ii. 321.
- Mouy*. (Isaac Vaudré de) A protestant officer, i. 108. Present at the battle of Saveuse, 168. Does not arrive till after the battle of Ivry, 199. Advises the amendment of the edict of Nantes, 266.
- Murat*. Treasurer of France. Contributes to the seizure of the count of Auvergne, iii. 299. Gives information of the seditious cabals, iv. 29. His connections with Lesdiguières render him suspected, 186.
- Murat*. Treasurer of the extraordinary of war. Attached to Sully: advice, and marks of confidence, which he receives from him, v. 91.

I N D E X.

Mustapha. (Agi Ibrahim) Aga of Cairo. His letter to Sully concerning a resident from the Porte at Mar-seilles, iv. 395.

N.

NANCY. The duchess of Bar makes an entertain-ment for Henry IV. there, iii. 76.

Nangis. Goes into the service of the archduke in Flanders, iv. 23.

Nangis. (Beauvais) His conversation with the duke of Guise. See *Guise.* (Henry de)

Nantz. (Edict of) Extorted by the protestants, ii. 23. Henry IV. employs himself in drawing up articles, 165. His stay at Nantz for that purpose, 174. Opposition made to its being registered, 181. They find it neces-sary to make some alterations in it: treachery of those who were employed to compose it, 262. The edict is at length registered, 266. and proposed by Henry IV. as a fundamental writing in the assembly of Chatelleraut, iv. 34, 35.

Naples. Henry IV. proposes to give this kingdom to the pope, iii. 352. See *Political Design.*

Narbonne. The rebels endeavour to seize this place, ii. 393.

Narbonne. (Viscount of) Purchased by the house of Bour-bon, i. 8.

Nargonne. A commissioner in the affair of the tower of Bouc, iv. 12.

Nassau. (William de) Prince of Orange. See *Orange.*

—— (Henry de) Ambassador from the United Pro-vinces to London: James refuses to acknowledge him, but afterwards treats him better, iii. 112—125.

—— (Justin de) Ambassador from the States-General to France: a conversation between Henry IV. and him, ii. 177.

—— (Lewis de) Or count Lodovic. One of the heads of the protestant party in France, i. 22.

—— (Maurice de) Prince of Orange. See *Orange.*

—— (Philip de) Brings troops to the assistance of Henry IV. at the siege of Rouen, i. 227. He defeats the count of Mansfield, ii. 38.

Navarre. (Kingdom of) Usurped by the Spaniards, i. 11. Design of Catherine de Medicis to purchase it from the house of Albret, and to exchange it with Spain, 76. Claims of the house of Rouen upon the estates possessed by

INDEX.

- by that of Albret there, iii. 412. The finances of Navarre are reunited to those of France, iv. 211. A dispute concerning the boundaries of this kingdom terminated to Henry's advantage, 30. Part of the great design which relates to this state, 149. See *Political Design*.
- Navarre*. (Kings of). See the following articles.
- Navarre*. (Antony de Bourbon, king of) i. 1. His death, 12. Particulars relating to his life, ib.
- Navarre*. (Henry d'Albret, king of) Particulars relating to this prince at the birth of his grandson, i. 9.
- (Henry de Bourbon, prince, afterwards king of) Afterwards king of France. See *Henry IV*.
- (Jean d'Albret, queen of) i. 9. Retires to Rochelle at the peace of 1570. 14. Motives which determine her to go to Paris, 15. Her death, 28. Opinions concerning it, ibid. Her hatred of popes, ii.
- Nemours*. A treaty extorted by the league in this city, i. 99. Conferences between Catherine de Medicis and the duke of Guise after the action of the Barricadoes, 157.
- Nemours*. (Charles-Emanuel de Savoy, duke of) Fights for the league at Ivry, i. 196. Defends Paris against Henry IV. 207. His party in Provence unsuccessful, 270. As likewise his designs and plots at the states of Paris, 312. The city of Lyons surrenders to Henry IV. notwithstanding his endeavours to the contrary: the treatment he receives there, 389. The constable de Montmorency defeats his troops, and takes his towns, ii. 38. His death, 73. Sum paid him at his treaty.
- Nemours*. (Henry de Savoy) See *Saint Sorlin*.
- Nemours*. (La Garnache). See *Garnache*, (La).
- Nerac*. A brave action of Henry's before this town, i. 58. Conferences between this prince and Catherine de Medicis there, 61.
- Nereftan*. (Philibert de) Captain of the guards: he arrests the count of Auvergne, iii. 10. Supports Sully's opinion upon the enterprize of Sedan, iv. 124—226. First grand master of the order of Mount Carmel, 349.
- Nery*. (Madame de) Prevails upon d'Estrees to treat with Sully for the post of grand master of the ordnance, ii. 297.
- Nesse*. (Marquis of) Slain at the battle of Ivry. See *Ivry*.

Netancourt.

I N D E X.

- Netancourt.** (John de) Count of Vaubecourt, deputed by Bouillon to the king, iv. 132. Henry IV. makes him governor in Sedan, 138—234.
- Neubourg.** (Philip-Lewis, count palatinate of) His claim to the succession of Cleves, iv. 399. He divides it with the elector of Brandenburg, v. 56. See *Cleves*.
- Nevers.** (Charles de Gonzague, duke of) Is wounded at the siege of Buda: his eulogium, 198. He serves in the expedition of Sedan, ii. 257. Processes between him and Henry IV. for the estates of the house of Albret, iv. 220. He is sent ambassador to Rome, 282. The ministers treat him ill, v. 69. Grants which he procures from the queen regent, 77. Estates purchased by Sully of him, 104.
- Nevers.** (Lewis de Gonzague, duke of) Makes himself dreaded by Henry III. i. 162. Attaches himself to Henry IV. after the death of that prince, 76. Brings troops to the king, and endeavours to procure the chief sway in his council, 214. Excites the catholics to mutiny at the siege of Rouen: the cause of another misfortune which happens to the king at Bully, 239. He becomes one of the heads of the third party, 285. His plots with the states of Paris, 313. Henry IV. sends him to Rome, to pay obedience in his name to the pope, 334. He is made governor of Champaign, ii. 20. and head of the new council of finances, 32. His quarrels with Sully, 33. He commands the king's forces in Picardy, 41. Quarrels with the other commanders: his ill success, 46. His death, 74. Opinion of his conduct, ib.
- Nevers.** (Duchess of) Engaged in the intrigues of Henry IV. iv. 327.
- Neuf-chatel.** Taken by Henry IV. i. 178. Ill defended by Givry, 249.
- Neuville.** See *Villeroi*, and *Alincourt*.
- Neufvy.** (Bertrand de Melet de Fayolles de). An officer in the party of the league. i. 113.
- Neufvy.** (Madame de) Gives bad advice to the princess Catherine, ii. 88. 92.
- Neuilly.** The king and queen are in danger of being drowned there, iv. 156.
- Nicolai.** Sent by Henry into the provinces, iii. 294. Appointed one of the council of regency, ii. 266.
- Nicholas.** (Simon) His gay disposition: the freedom and liveliness of his jests, iii. 10, 11.
- Nieuport.** Lost by the treachery committed at Antwerp, i.

I N D E X.

86. The prince of Orange gains a battle there against the archduke Albert, and is obliged to raise the siege, ii. 350.
- Nîmes*. Makes an advantageous treaty, i. 40.
- Noailles*. Quarrels between this family and that of Roquelaure composed by Sully, iv. 157.
- Noailles*. (Francis de) The occasion of his embassy to the Port, i. 75. He commands the forces at the siege of Pierrefort, iv. 226.
- Nobles*. Sully's reflections upon the little respect shewn to them upon their unequal alliances, and degenerated manners, ii. 359. Schemes of Henry IV. concerning them, iv. 336. See *Cabinet of state*.
- Nocle* (Beauvais la). See *Beauvais*.
- Nogent le Bethune*. Buildings there by Sully, v. 184.
- Noirmoutier*. (Marchioness of). See *Sauves*.
- Noisy*. The children of France reside in that castle, iv. 231.
- Nompar*. See *Force*, (La).
- Norfolk*. (Duke of) One of king James's privy counsellors, iii. 96.
- Normandy*. Places taken by the royalists in that province, ii. 340. Military operations, &c. by the duke of Montpensier, iii. 101. See *Gautiers*. Normandy sends supplies to Henry IV. for the siege of Rouen, 105. Its towns and governors submit to that prince, 291. Sully supports the interests of this province, iv. 159.
- North*. (Courts of the) Their bad policy disapproved by Sully, iii. 135.
- Northumberland*. (Earl of) One of the factious lords at London, iii. 110. He conducts Sully to his first audience, 123. His abilities: Sully gains his friendship, 129. He receives some advice of importance from him, 136. Sully is conducted by him to his second audience, 140. and is appointed one of the commissioners to confer with him, 148. Sully makes him presents, 238. He insults colonel Vere, 196.
- Notables* (Assembly of) At Rouen: Motives, deliberations, and the result of this assembly: Henry IV's conduct there, and reflections on this subject, ii. 118. 124. 146. See also *General states*.
- Notaries*. Declared competent judges in all contracts, &c. iv. 347.
- Nouë*. (Francis de La) Catherine de Medicis privately countenances his defeat in Flanders, i. 27. Eulogium of this officer, 27—51. He takes the suburb St. Germain by assault, 186. Henry's great generosity to him, 375. iii. 10.

Nou.

I N D E X.

Nou. (Odét de La-) Proposed for deputy-general of the protestants, iv. 54, and accepted, 66. He is against the expedition of Sedan, 127. Is employed by Sully in the affair of Metz against the jesuits, 145. Serves the king in the Synode of Rochelle, 185.

Noyer. (Du-) One of the conspirators at La-Fleche, iv. 319.

Noyon. The forces of the League defeated there: the town taken, 219, 220, 221. Retaken by count Mansfield, 317.

Nugnes or *Ordognes.* Sent by Mandoce to Henry IV. i. 339.

Nuys. Taken by marshal Biron, ii. 38.

Nyort. Lost by Henry IV. 128. but afterwards retaken by him, 160.

Nyssa. In Transilvania, twice taken by the Imperialists, iv. 349.

O.

O. (Francis d') de Frefne, &c. superintendant of the finances, attaches himself to the service of Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. i. 176. but governs his finances badly, and suffers him to be in want of every thing, 205. Endeavours to have the chief sway in his council, 214. Hinders the catholicks from obeying him at the siege of Rouen, 234. and raises a mutiny among them, 262, 263. He becomes one of the heads of the third party, 285. Interposes in the affair of Henry's conversion, 319. Procures the government of Paris, 374. Opposes the cardinal de Bourbon and Sully, 397. Solicits for the jesuits in their process with the university, 399. His profusion: his vices, ii. 15. Particulars relating to his death, 16. He rents the farms under borrowed names, iv. 2.

O. (John d') De Manou. See *Manou.*

Odou. (N. d') Serves the king in the affair of the Moors revolt against Spain, iv. 302.

Offices. (New) created. Offices of the finances and the bar suppressed, ii. 361. Creation of offices to be made upon occasion, iv. 339.

Officers of the crown and others: Sully alters the form of their payments and pensions, ii. 234. Suppresses part of them in the finances and the bar, 361.

Oise. (George de Brancas-Villars chevalier d') Surrenders
le

I N D E X.

- le Havre to Henry IV. i. 384. Obtains a pension for it, ii. 15. Attends the king in the campaign of Franche Comte, 56. Sum paid him at his treaty.
- Oldcornu.* (Edward) A jesuit, engaged in the conspiracy of the English Lords against James, iv. 172—208.
- Oleron.* (Isle of) Taken by the protestants, i. 4.
- Olivari* (Seraphin) Cazailla: his reply to Clement VIII. who refused to give Henry IV. absolution, i. 334, 335. Sully procures a cardinal's hat for him, iii. 258. Debts paid to him by Henry, iv. 229.
- Onau.* (Biron d') or de Dona: defeated at Auneau, i. 149.
- Ondevous.* Agent from the duke of Bouillon, ii. 345.
- Oost-Frise* (Prince of) Supports Embden with the United Provinces against Spain, iii. 59.
- Orodoux.* (N. de) A protestant gentleman, i. 110.
- Oraison.* (Marquis d') One of Sully's train in his embassy to London, iii. 402. Employed in the affair of the marriage between mademoiselle de Mercœur and the duke of Vendome, iv. 271.
- Orange.* A dispute concerning this place and Blaccons, iii. 38—70. Henry IV. shews too much indulgence to Lesdiguieres upon this occasion, 57. See *Chatelleraut*, *Blaccons*.
- (William de Nassau, prince of) Takes Mons from the Spaniards, i. 18. Lieutenant-general to the archduke Matthias, 77. He escapes being murdered at Antwerp: the Flemmings rise against the French upon this occasion: he pacifies them, 84, 85. He foresees and renders ineffectual the designed treachery at Antwerp, 86, 87. Endeavours in vain to reconcile Monsieur and the Flemmings, *ibid*.
- Orange.* (Maurice de Nassau, prince of) Gains the battle of Nieupoort against the archduke Albert, and raises the siege of that place, ii. 350. Endeavours to carry the war into the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, 362. Takes Rhimberg, and loses Bolduc, 363. Henry IV. secretly grants him supplies, 375. He takes Grave: other operations, iii. 57. Drives the Spaniards out of Vastendonk, 71. Takes Cadfan: besieges Sluys, which he takes, 339. Other military operations, iv. 23. Interests himself in the affair of Orange and Blaccons, 38. Maintains his reputation but indifferently during the campaign of 1606. His disagreement with Barnevelt, one of the principal causes of the truce, 171. He loses Antwerp, 198.

I N D E X.

198. He prepares a suspension of arms, 206. and plots in France to prevent it, 297. but Henry IV. and Sully guard against him, 298. He consents to the treaty of truce, 382. He joins the German princes assembled at Hall, 411. See *Cleves*. Takes Juliers at the head of the confederates, v. 54. His part in the great design, 142. and the forces he contributes towards its execution, 146. See *Political Design*.
-
- (Princes of) Entertains Sully at supper, ii. 273. The united Provinces make her a present, iii. 340. Letters which she writes to Bouillon on the part of Henry IV. on occasion of the expedition to Sedan, iv. 120. She receives a letter from Henry IV. upon the surrender of Sedan, 140, 255. Letters wrote by her to Sully, on the affair of the truce between Spain and the states general, 297.
- Orbitello*. Spain unjustly takes possession of it, iii. 352.
- Order*. (New) Of knighthood proposed by Henry IV. to be instituted, iv. 336. Sully makes one for himself, v. 182.
- Orders*. (Religious). See *Religious*.
- Ordinance*. (Grand master of) Biron, La-Guiche, St. Luc, d'Estrees, Sully, Rosny. See these names.
- Orleans*. Taken by the protestants, i. 29. Surrendered by La-Chatre to Henry IV. 347. Sum paid for it, ii. 227. The king and queen keep the jubilee there, 361. Henry passes some time there in his journey to Auvergne, iv. 79. Troubles in this city, 316.
-
- (Gaston John-Baptist of France, duke of Anjou, afterwards duke of). See *Anjou*.
-
- (N. de France duke of) His birth, ii. 285. He is taken ill, iv. 280. Is contracted to mademoiselle de Montpensier, 326. Conchini takes the government of Normandy from him : Sully presages his death, v. 52. Cause of it, 74.
- Ornano*. (Alphonso d') marshal of France : He gives Henry III. good advice on the day of Barricadoes, i. 151. He supports the party of Henry IV. in Dauphine, 271. Supports the Lionnois against the League, 390. Helps to defeat the troops of the dukes of Savoy and d'Epernon, ii. 100, 144. Services done by him to Henry IV. after the death of the dukes of Beaufort, 273. The king is disgusted with him, 384. He is concerned in the duties arising from anchorage, iii. 211. Sully's friendship for him calumniated, 402. Sully takes his part

I N D E X.

- part against Epernon, iv. 90—229. He disapproves of the outrageous sermons of father Gonthier, 361.
- Ortoman*, first physician to Henry IV. who sends him to the assistance of madame de Rosny when she lay ill, i. 169.
- Orval*. (Francis de Bethune Count of) Henry IV. makes him a very considerable present, v. 103. Receives some services from him: employments which he possessed: the lands of Orval erected into a duchy in his favour: the duchy of Sully goes into his hands, 104. His share in the divisions Sully made of his estates: other particulars concerning him, 172.
- Oseray*. (L.) Groom of the chamber to Henry IV. ii. 2, 143.
- Oserio*. A Spanish officer, defends La-Fere, ii. 72.
- Offat*. (Arnaud d') Cardinal, accused of favouring the League, ii. 61, 62. An examination into his conduct and sentiments, 59. Employed in the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Margaret de Valois, 183. and obtains a dispensation for the marriage of the princess Catherine and the duke of Bar, which he was accused of endeavouring to hinder, 255. His conduct in this respect examined, *ibid*. He serves Henry IV. at Rome in the affair of Martha Broussier, 267. Further particulars of his negotiation for dissolving Henry's marriage, 288. The treaty which he makes with the grand duke of Tuscany for the restitution of the isles, &c. blamed by Sully, 380. and justified, *ibid*. Accusations of this minister against him, iii. 68. These accusations examined, 69. Mortifications which he receives from Sully, 70. He is made coadjutor of Brieux, 71. His opinion concerning the affair of the English clergy, 145. Sully presents a memorial against him to the king, 237. Heads of the accusations contained in this memorial, 243. His justification: particulars relating to his birth, his life and his death, 244.
- Ofend*. Lost by the treachery at Antwerp, i. 86. The archduke Albert lays siege to it, ii. 363. Châtillon and some other Frenchmen are slain there, 375. Farther account of this siege, iii. 56. The Spaniards endure great fatigue, and are very unsuccessful, 72. The surrender of this place, 201. In which the long resistance made by the Flemings almost exhaust Spain, 339.
- Otha*. Emperor: duels authorised in his time, iv. 96.
- Ota-*

I N D E X.

Otoplote. The financiers carry on their frauds under this name, ii. 76.

Ottocar. King of Bohemia, i. 4.

Oval, or Auval. A courier sent from France to London, iii. 198.

Ouen. (Saint) Henry IV. disposes of this abbey after the death of cardinal de Bourbon, ii. 39.

P.

PAJOT. A treasurer: a petition presented against him, iv. 355.

Palatine. (Elector) The heads of the protestant party form a design to make him the protector of the French protestants, i. 101. Henry IV. withdraws the farms from his hands, ii. 234. And refuses to pardon Bouillon at his request, iii. 73. He continues to support Bouillon, and endeavours to procure him the protection of king James, but in vain, 119—145—213. His fears occasioned by the expedition to Sedan, iv. 129. He writes a polite letter to Sully, 295.

Palatine. (Princes). See *Neubourg, Deux-Ponts.*

Palcheux. A protestant officer: present at the battle of Arques, i. 181. At that of Ivry, 198. Is unjustly put under an arrest for the surrender of Neufchatel, 249.

Palliers. Sells the lands of Caussade to Sully, v. 105.

Palot. Receiver general, turned out of his office by Sully, iii. 202.

— The prince of Condé's agent at Paris, v. 142.

Pangeac or Pangeas. (N. de Pardaillan de). Obliges the count of Soissons to quit Bearn, and is ill used by him on that account, i. 267.

Pangeac. (Madame de) Gives good advice to the princess Catherine, ii. 88. Endeavours to restore Sully to her favour, 96. Gives an exact inventory of the effects of that princess, iii. 228.

Panny. (Du) Agent from D'Entragues in London, iii. 119.

Parabere. A protestant officer: takes Corbie, i. 219. Present at the siege of Laon, 402. His letter to Sully concerning Bouillon, 125, 151.

Parasis. An enemy to Sully, iii. 399.

Pardaillan. See *Pangeac, Segur.*

Pardieu. See *Mothe (La).*

Paré. (Ambroise) Surgeon to Charles IX. his conversation

I N D E X

- tion with that prince concerning the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 37.
- Parent.* A contractor, ii. 135.
- Parfait.* An officer in the household of Henry IV. iii. 193: Familiar with this prince, iv. 161.
- Paris.* Huguenots massacred in that city: See *Bartholomew* (Saint). The exercise of the protestant religion forbid within ten leagues round it. See *Peace of 1577*. Transactions there on the day of the Barricadoes, i. 150. The general consternation there, after the departure of Henry III. The Parisians send a deputation to that prince, 155. The two kings invest Paris, 171. Henry IV. attacks the suburbs, 185. He takes them by assault, and besieges the city: he raises the siege in compassion to the inhabitants: the horrors of this siege: other particulars concerning it, 207. The states are held in that city: their convocation, tumult and confusion there, 310. See *League, Guise, Spain.* &c. The curates of Paris enflamed against Henry IV. 316. Their joy at this prince's abjuration of his religion: the Parisians send a deputation to him, contrary to the inclinations of Maienne, 336. The reduction of this city; and particulars relating to Henry's entry there, 374. Process against the jesuits carried on by the University and the curates of Paris. Tranquillity and order restored there, ii. 138, 139. The sovereign courts of Paris oppose the registering of the edict of Nantz, 262. which is altered, and at length registred, 266. The reception given to the queen by this city, 350. The dauphin is carried publickly thro' Paris, 358. Presents which this city made to the queen on occasion of the dauphin's birth, *ibid.* Publick buildings in it by Henry IV. iii. 76. iv. 8. A contagious distemper, which rages in Paris, prevents the ceremony of the baptism of the children of France from being performed there, iv. 155. The general grief and consternation of this city at the death of Henry IV. &c. See *Parricide, Ravaillac, Parliament.*
- Parisiers.* (N. de La) Deputed by the city of Poitiers to Henry IV. on occasion of the quarrel between Sully and Father Cotton, iii. 377.
- Parliament of Paris.* The League cannot engage it in their schemes on the day of the Barricadoes, &c. i. 155. It opposes the designs of Maienne and the League, upon the states of Paris: a decree given by it upon the succession to the crown; what persons had most share in this decree;

I N D E X.

cree; and other particulars relating to it, 315. It is recalled from Tours, 379. Plots carried on in the parliament in favour of the jesuits, against the university and curates of Paris, 399. Sully is made honorary counsellor of the parliament of Paris, ii. 220. It is obliged to alter the edict of Nantz, and to register it after great opposition, 266. The parliament supports its advocates against the king, iii. 46, 48. Opposes the edicts upon money, 59. And the recall of the jesuits, 231. An arret issued by it against the prince of Condé, iv. 376. Conduct of the parliament upon the death of Henry IV. Particulars relating to the process against Ravaillac and others, on occasion of this parricide. The parliament confirm the regency to the queen, v. 17.

Parliaments of the kingdom: Disobedience of the parliament of Languedoc and Burgundy. See these names. Sully complains of the parliaments, iv. 231. His disputes with them, 288. The droit annuel. Creations of offices, and other regulations with respect to the parliaments projected. See *Cabinet of State*.

Parma. (Alexander Farnese, duke of) Raises the blockade of Cambray, and makes a fine retreat, i. 120. He forces Monsieur to quit Flanders, 86. A speech of his upon the barricadoes, 152. He obliges Henry IV. to raise the siege of Paris, 207, 209, 210. Takes possession of an advantageous post, and acts like an able general upon this occasion: a smart saying of his to the duke of Maienne, 210. He takes Corbeil with great difficulty, 211. Suffers some losses in his retreat, 213. He repasses the Somme, and comes to the assistance of Rouen: Henry goes to meet him, 235. He misses taking this prince at Aumale, 240. A saying of his upon this action, 245. He repasses the Somme, and again takes the road to Rouen, 250. He avoids fighting, and arrives at Rouen, *ibid*. Henry IV. deceives him, and gains several advantages over him: he is wounded: he escapes the pursuit of Henry IV. by a master-piece of good conduct at the passage of the Seine, 255. A mutiny in the army of Henry IV. prevents his being pursued, 256. He goes back to Flanders, 266. Designs to return again into France, but dies, 276. Opinion concerning his death, *ibid*. His schemes not pursued by the states of Paris to the great advantage of Henry, 310. See *Spain, League, Maienne*.

Parquet.

I N D E X.

Parquet. President to the parliament of Grenoble, iv. 151.
Parricide, committed on the person of Henry IV. in what manner this crime was executed, iv. 445. Examination into the different opinions concerning the authors and the motives of this parricide, 446. Names of the several persons who were accused of being accomplices in it, 461.

Partenay (Catherine de). See *Quellenec*.

Parthenay. Lost by Henry IV. i. 128.

Parties-casuel. (Regulations concerning the) iv. 340.

Pascal. Ambassador from France to the Grisons, iii. 356.

Pasithée. A nun, who pretends to inspiration, iv. 148.

The faction in the queen's household make use of her to serve their pernicious designs, iv. 327.

Pasquier. Brings letters from Villeroy to Henry IV. ii. 362.

Passage. (Du) Gives the king information of the duke of Savoy's designs, ii. 298.

Passava. See *Ghateauneuf*.

Passy. Defended by Sully against the troops of the League, i. 192.

Pavement of Paris. Regulations concerning it, iv. 7. Sums expended upon that account, 212.

Paul V. Rejoicings in Paris for his advancement to the pontificate, iii. 306. His attachment to France: honour paid by him to the French ambassador. See *Bethune*. His great esteem for Sully: his brief to him, and Sully's answer to it, iv. 18. He congratulates Henry upon the expedition to Sedan, 138. Origin and effects of the dispute between him and the Venetians, 141. He stands godfather to the dauphin, 155. His moderation with respect to the protestants, 185. He forbids the English to take the oaths of fidelity to king James, 208. Henry IV. terminates the dispute between him and the republic of Venice, 209. Brief from Paul V. and this minister's answer to it, 212. He grants with some difficulty the bishopric of Metz to the duke of Verneuil, 280. Presses Henry, but in vain, to publish the council of Trente, *ibid*. He agrees to the union against the house of Austria, upon the promise that is made him of being put into the possession of the kingdom of Naples, 422. The queen regent unites with him and Spain against the policy of the last reign, v. 35. His moderation towards the protestants, 130. His part in the great design of
C c 2.
Henry

I N D E X.

- Henry IV. 143. Forces and money to be contributed by him towards its execution. See *Political Design*.
- Paul* (County of Saint) Purchased by Henry IV. with too little precaution: particulars relating to the homage paid for this county, iii. 361. See *Soissons* (Count of). Sully cannot prevail upon Henry to attack the towns, iv. 138.
- Paul*. (Francis D'Orleans, count of Saint) Governor of Picardy: one of the commanders of the king's forces in that province, ii. 41. He is defeated before Dourlens, 48. And justifies himself to Henry IV. concerning the assassination of the younger D'Epernoy, iv. 180. He forms a design to go into the service of the archdukes, 266.
- Paulette*. Henry IV. makes over the droit annuel to him, iv. 340.
- Peace of 1570*. Advantageous for the protestants, i. 4. That of Monsieur ill observed on both sides: articles of this peace, 48. Of Fleix. See *Fleix*. Of Vervins. See *Vervins*.
- Peace of Lyons*. See *Savoy*, *Lyons*, &c.
- Pearls*. (Manufacture of false) Established by Henry IV. iv. 12.
- Pecais*, mortgaged to prince Casimir by the prince of Condé, i. 72.
- Pêche*. (Du) Treats with D'Estrees for the post of grand master of the ordnance for Sully, ii. 297.
- Pedro*. (Don) De Toledo, ambassador from Spain to France: labours to procure a peace, 296. His intrigues at court: a bon-mot of Henry's upon this ambassador, *ibid*.
- Peer of France*. This dignity conferred on Sully, iii. 400. A dispute between the dukes and the ecclesiastical peers, upon the right of precedence at the coronation of Lewis XIII. v. 18. See *Dukes*.
- Peguillon*. See *Martigues*.
- Pebu*. (William de La Mothe de) An accomplice in the assassination of Du-Hallot. See *Allegre*. *Romain*, (Saint) *Rouen*.
- Pellvé*. (Nicholas de) Cardinal: he reveals the plots of St. Bartholomew, i. 30. Proposes a marriage between the Infanta of Spain and the archduke Ernest to the states of Paris: his plots unsuccessful, 310. See *League*, *Guise*, *States of Paris*.

I N D E X.

- Pembroke.* (Earl of) Sully sees him at Dover, ii. 370.
- Penny in the Shilling.* A tax imprudently established by the assembly of notables, ii. 128. Revoked by the king, iii. 12. And changed into an augmentation of the taille, 326.
- Pensions of State.* Sully changes the form of them: his labours in this respect, ii. 234.
- Penthievre.* Pretended claims of this house upon Britany, ii. 165, 166. See *Mercaeur, Martigues.*
- Pepin Le-Bref.* Sully's character of this king, v. 116.
- Peres.* (Antonio) Minister to Philip II. disgraced: this prince's advice to Philip III. concerning him: the maxims of this minister's government, ii. 252.
- Pericard.* Agent for the duke of Guise in his treaty, ii. 19, 20.
- Peronne.* (Assembly of). The designs of the League formed there, i. 98. Henry IV. makes his entry into this city, ii. 11.
- Perron.* (James-David, cardinal Du-). One of the authors and promoters of the third party, i. 286. Conferences in which Sully brings him over to Henry's interest, 301. He instructs this prince in the Roman catholic religion, 329. And has the chief hand in his conversion: he endeavours to convert Sully, 331. See *Abjuration.* the is sent to Rome by Henry IV. to pay obedience to the Pope, and is made bishop of Evreux, 334. Labours with Sully to procure a reconciliation between the duke of Montpensier and the count of Soissons, 351. His conduct at Rome blamed, ii. 61. and justified, 59. He labours to procure a dissolution of the marriage between Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois, 183. His public dispute with Du-Plessis Mornay: reciprocal letters between him and Sully, and other particulars relating to this subject, 305. He serves the king but indifferently at the treaty of Lyons, 342. And supports the interests of the Jesuits: Sully's reproaches of him on this occasion, iii. 241. Sully endeavours to make him approve of the toleration of religions, 256. and obtains a cardinal's hat for him, 258. The friendship between him and Sully, and their letters to each other, iv. 14. His residence at Rome; he does Sully some service there, 21. He congratulates this minister upon the success of the expedition to Sedan, 138. Conversations between them upon the means of pacifying the quarrels between the professors of the two religions, 142.

I N D E X.

He is made archbishop of Sens and great almoner, 143. He discovers the plots of the Spanish ambassador with the courtiers to Sully, 191. Persuades Paul V. not to insist upon the recal of the Jesuits with the Venetians, 210. Cannot prevail on Sully to change his religion, 245. He is appointed of the council of regency by Henry IV. 430.

Perron. (Du-) Brother to the cardinal. Sully makes use of him to get the contract of marriage between the princess Catherine and the count of Soissons into his own hands, i. 355. A conversation between him and Sully in the presence of Henry IV. iv. 167. He discovers the plots of the Spanish ambassador at court to Sully, 191.

Perroton. One of the grooms of the chamber to Henry IV. v. 7.

Persia. (Sophy of) Sends an ambassador to the Emperor Rodolphus, ii. 366. His wars with Turkey and Muscovy, iii. 363.

Personio. (Robert) A Jesuit. His advice to the Pope the cause of the troubles in England, iii. 145. He is engaged in the conspiracy against king James, iv. 173.

Perfy le Roche. A captain in Nereitan's regiment. Serves at the siege of Ostend, iii. 339.

Perweis. Claims of this house upon the duchy of Cleves, iv. 396. See *Cleves*.

Pest. Taken by the Christians from the Turks, iii. 59.

People. Not proper to govern a state, iii. 317. See *Government*, *States-General*, *Policy*.

Phelipeaux. Treasurer of the Exchequer. Friend to Sully, iv. 274.

Phenomena. Seen the evening before the battle of Ivry, i. 192.

Philip the August. King of France. By his excessive imposts raises a rebellion in his kingdom, iv. 293. Sully's character of this king, 313.

Philip le Belle. King of France. Motives for the edict he published against duels, iv. 96. Sully's character of this king, v. 118.

Philip de Valois. King of France. Occasions a rebellion in his kingdom by his excessive imposts, iv. 293.

Philip II. King of Spain. Causes of the war being re-kindled between Henry and him, i. 12. His offers to Henry IV. 91. His design of making the duke of Savoy count of Provence disconcerted by Lesdiguières, 271.

Conditions

I N D E X.

Conditions offered this prince by the duke of Maienne and the League, and his answers to them: his views by supporting the League, 282. His plots with the states of Paris ineffectual, 309. Proposals made by him to Henry IV. after his abjuration, 335. Motives for his desiring a peace with France, ii. 166. He is taken ill, and dies, 244. His last will, *ibid.* Maxims of government, and advice given by him to his son, *ibid.* Particulars relating to his person, his character, and policy, 247. He orders an examination to be made into the usurpation of Navarre, *ibid.* A marriage between him and the princess Catherine proposed, 255. Proofs of his designs for universal monarchy, iv. 110. The causes that hindered their succeeding, 112. Motives for the advice he gave to the duke of Anjou concerning the treachery at Antwerp, 331. See *Philip III. Spain, the League, &c.*

Philip III. King of Spain. Instructions and advice given him by Philip II. when dying, ii. 244. He banishes Mora, and gives his place to Doria, 252. Marries the arch-duchess at Gra, 253. Supports the rebels in Ireland, 396. He condemns the pretended Don Sebastian to the gallies, *ibid.* Congratulates Henry IV. upon the discovery of Biron's conspiracy: Henry's answer, iii. 41. Takes possession of Final, Piombino, &c. without any just claim, 59. and endeavours to seize Embden, but in vain, *ibid.* Favours the duke of Savoy in his attempts upon Geneva: complaints and invectives of the king of England against him, 125. Pretended proposals for an union of these two princes against France, 124. Conversations between king James and Sully, upon the means of humbling the king of Spain, 141. His designs upon Barbary, 197. Upon the coasts of the Mediterranean, 200. He sends for the children of Savoy to Madrid, and makes them *grandeës* of Spain, *ibid.* He resumes his father's designs of universal monarchy, iv. 110. He carries on plots in the court of France against the life of Henry IV. 191. He ratifies the treaty for a suspension of arms with the United Provinces; and afterwards concludes a truce for twelve years 204. Mary de Medicis adopts his policy, and seeks his alliance, 440. He sends ambassadors to France upon the death of Henry IV. v. 8. See, upon this article, *Austria (House of), Spain, Flanders, James, Seditions, Parricides,*

I N D E X.

- Picardy.* Towns of this province into which Henry made his entry, ii. 11. The campaign of Picardy unfortunate for France, 46. Other expeditions of Henry's after the taking of Amiens, 161.
- Piercy.* (Lord) Defeats the rebels in Ireland, ii. 397.
- Pienne.* (Company of) Defeated by Henry IV. i. 135.
- Pierrefort.* (Castle of) Besieged, iv. 226.
- Pile.* (La) Attorney-general of Rouen. Friend to Sully; serves him in the treaty with admiral Villars, i. 365, 368.
- Piles.* (Armand de Clermont de) A protestant lord, i. 24. Murdered at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 34.
- Piles.* (N. de) Obtains a gratuity from Henry IV. ii. 164. iii. 266.
- Pimental.* An Italian. Henry IV. admits him into his parties of pleasure: a comical adventure between Sully and him, iv. 237. His arts to win at gaming, 285.
- Piolant.* (Mademoiselle de) One of the women attendants upon the children of France, iv. 105.
- Piombino.* Usurped by Spain from the emperor, iii. 59.
- Pisany.* (John de Vivonne de) Deputed by Henry IV. to the pope, who refuses to give him audience, i. 317. Sent to Rome to pay obedience to the pope, 334.
- Pius IV.* Pope. Degrades the cardinal de Chatillon, i. 16.
- Pius V.* Refuses to give a dispensation for the marriage of Henry IV. with Margaret de Valois, i. 25. Deplores the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 31. His character iv. 13.
- Placin.* A clerk of the exchequer, iv. 355.
- Plague.* Or a contagious disease at Paris, hinders the celebration of the baptism of the children of France, iv. 155.
- Plaisance.* (Cardinal de) Legate: his plots with the states of Paris ineffectual, i. 312. He retires to Soissons after the reduction of Paris, 375. See *League*.
- Planche.* (La) A foreign manufacturer sent for to France by Henry IV. iv. 12.
- Plessis.* (Francis du) See *Richelieu*.
- Plessis-Bellay.* (La) Agent for the duke of Bouillon, iii. 70.
- Plessis-Mornay.* See *Mornay*.
- Plume.* (La) Sent by Henry IV. to the baron de Lux, iii. 29.
- Pluviant.* Claveau. A protestant gentleman murdered at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, i. 24, 31.
- Pluviers* or *Petiviers.* Taken by the two kings. i. 171.

I N D E X.

- Affair of the provost of Pluviers.** See *Conspiracy, Parricide, Ravallac.*
- Pedius.** A catholic officer in the royalist party, i. 51.
- Poigny.** (John de Angennes de) Deputed from the court to Henry IV. i. 125.
- Poissy.** Taken by the two kings, i. 171.
- Poitiers.** Blockade of this city, i. 266. It surrenders to Henry IV. 389. Sum paid for its surrender, ii. 227. A great quarrel between Sully and father Cotton: account of a college in this city, iii. 372. The citizens make complaints against the jesuits, iv. 190.
- Poitou.** Henry's journey into this province, iii. 12, 14. He gives the government of it to Sully, 217. Value of this government, 218. His journey there: motives and design of this journey, 286. Honours paid him there, 290. He sells this government to the duke of Rohan, v. 104. Roads and public works made by him there, 184.
- Pol.** (Antony de Saint) Brings the forces of the League to the siege of Rouen, i. 237. One of the four marshals of France made by the League, 307. Slain by the duke of Guise, ii. 26.
- Police.** Henry IV. after the peace of Vervins applies himself to restore order in it, ii. 199. Sully's maxims upon the police, ii. 358. iii. 221. Henry IV. restores it in his kingdom, iv. 9. Regulations upon it, 220. Other regulations and establishments projected in the cabinet of state, 338.
- Policy.** (Maxims of) ii. 179, 181. Those of Philip II. with respect to France and other states of Europe, 247. Other maxims upon war, 312. Sully's political reflexions upon war, the noblesse, the finances, luxury, &c. 359. Upon England, and Europe in general, iii. 107. Political system of cardinal Richelieu, for humbling the house of Austria, formed upon the designs of Sully, 244. Fine political reflections upon government, 318, 322. Others upon the ruin and weakness of states, 330. Policy examined with respect to religion, iv. 47. Political maxims of kings with regard to their ministers, 144. The queen regent's council adopt maxims quite contrary to those of Henry the great, v. 19. Remarks upon the political conduct of the kings of France, 117. See also *Government, Kings, Princes, Ministers, War,* &c.

Political

I N D E X.

Political Design, or the great design of Henry IV. This prince corresponds with queen Elizabeth upon that subject, ii. 370. Sully goes to Dover to confer with her, 371. The five principal points of this design, 374. Sully discloses it to the king of England: a conversation between them on this subject, iii. 165. See *James I. Sully*. Sully imparts it to the cardinal Bufalo, 228. Plots at court to hinder the execution of it, iv. 191. Henry and Sully endeavour to forward it, 333. The succession of Cleves made the pretence, 400. See *Cleves*. Means of executing it. The design endeavoured to be blasted: conversation between Henry and Sully upon this subject. The princes and electors who unite with Henry upon the great design, 194—236. It is broken off by the death of Henry IV. 215. Explanation of this political scheme, v. 109. Henry IV.'s general view in it, 120. The probability of its execution proved, 121. In what manner it was formed by Henry and Sully, 124. and concerted with queen Elizabeth, 126. Its purport with respect to religion, 130. Means by which the infidels were to be drawn out of Europe, 133. Its purport merely political, to humble the house of Austria, 135. To establish fifteen equal powers, 138. Measures taken with the princes of Europe, 144. And precautions used, 148. Detail of the forces, and the necessary expences, 152. Dispositions and march of the armies, 156. Manifestos, 157. Regulations for the troops, 158. The result which might be expected from the great design, *ibid*. *Pollet*. (Skirmishes at) i. 181, 182. *Poland*. Henry III. is elected king of Poland, i. 41. and returns to France after the death of Charles IX. 44. Sigismund king of Poland is driven out of Sweden by his uncle, ii. 294. Ancel resident there from Henry IV. iv. 430. Part of the great design relating to this kingdom: forces and money to be contributed towards its execution. See *Political Design*. *Politrot*. (John) de Méré. Assassinate the duke of Guise, i. 12—31. *Pammegue*. (Isle and castle of) Usurped by the grand duke of Tuscany, and afterward restored to France, ii. 380. *Pompadour*. (Lewis viscount of) One of the heads of the League in Limosin, ii. 98. *Pons*. Henry IV. and the prince of Conde have a conference

I N D E X.

rence there, but quarrel, i. 59. The great boldness of the protestants in that city, iv. 186.

Pontaudemer. Taken from the League by the party of Henry IV. i. 159. Surrendered to the prince of Parma, 251, and retaken by Henry IV. 384.

Pontcarré. (N. de) Serves Henry IV. at Paris against the seditious party, i. 399. Summoned to the council held upon the restoration of the jesuits, iii. 289. Appointed one of the council of regency by Henry IV. 203. and admitted into the public council of the queen-regent, v. 18.

Pont-Courlay. A protestant gentleman. His plots against Sully in Poitou, iii. 289. Henry IV. employs him to reconcile Sully and father Cotton, on occasion of the college of Poitiers, 378. He gives Sully some information concerning the seditious faction, iv. 273.

Pont l'Evêque. Taken from the League by the royalists, i. 159.

Pont-neuf. Finished by Henry IV. ii. 427.

Pontoise. Taken by the two kings, i. 171. Retaken by the League, 189. Which settles a council there, 221. A conference held in this city, 325. Sum paid by Henry at its surrender, v. 2.

Popes, Leo X. Pius IV. Pius V. Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. Gregory XIV. Clement VIII. Leo XI. Paul V. Urban VIII. See each of these names. Plots of the legates and the partisans of the Pope with the states of Paris, i. 312. See *League*. Sully gives the Pope the title of holiness, and is blamed for it by the king of England, iii. 128. True policy of the Popes with regard to the king of Spain and house of Austria, 169. How the great design of Henry IV. was advantageous to them, 173. The doctrine that the Pope is the antichrist, proposed by the protestants at the synod of Gap; and suppressed by Sully, 213. Policy of the Pope united with Spain and the jesuits, 237. The Pope excluded from any right to the bridge of Avignon, 243. True policy of the court of Rome, with regard to the Venetians, iv. 142. The Pope's nuncio admitted to the secret council of Mary de Medicis, who embraces the ultramontane policy, v. 21. 35. Part of the great design relating to the Pope: he is to be declared king, and to have the kingdom of Naples, 133. Forces and money to be contributed by him to the great design, 151. See *Political Design*.

Port. (The) See *Constantinople, Turkey*,

Parte.

I N D E X.

- Porte.* (La) Raises obstacles to the marriage of Made-
moiselle de Mercœur with the duke of Vendôme, iv.
272.
- Portes.* (Des) See *Tiron*.
- Portocarrero.* (Hernando, Teillo) Surprises Amiens, and
is slain there: a saying of his upon the great captains
of his time, ii. 140.
- Porto-Hercule.* The Spaniards seize it unjustly, iii. 352.
- Portugal.* Henry IV. sends La Tremouille there to ex-
amine into the dispute concerning the true or false Don
Sebastian, ii. 200. Catherine de Medicis has a claim
upon this kingdom, *ibid*.
- Portugal.* (Kings of) Don Sebastian, Philip II. Philip III.
See these names.
- Posts.* Regulations concerning them: post-horses esta-
blished, iv. 340.
- Poterie.* (La) A gentleman attached to Sully, and present
with him at the skirmish at Chartres, i. 215. 217.
- Potier.* See *Geures*, and *Blanchmenil*.
- Pougues.* (Waters of) Taken with success by Henry IV.
iii. 86.
- Poussou.* Mayor of Saint John d'Angely, iii. 412.
- Prada.* Secretary of state to the king of Spain. L'Hôte
carries on a correspondence with him, iii. 245.
- Praslin.* (Charles de Choiseul, marquis de) Captain of
the guards, iii. 16. He arrests the count of Auvergne,
21. Sully's friendship with him calumniated, 402.
Gratuity granted him by Henry IV. iv. 10. His let-
ters to Sully upon the fondness of this prince for hunt-
ing, 178. A conversation between them upon the
prince of Condé's flight, 396. Henry sends him to
Flanders to demand the princess of Condé, 372. The
queen-regent deposes him to Sully, v. 14.
- Pré.* (Du) Du Rollet makes use of him to traverse Sul-
ly's treaty with Villars, i. 363. Who orders him to
be hanged, 369.
- Preaux.* (Hector de) A protestant officer, governor of
Chatelleraut: cabals during the siege of Amiens, ii. 21.
iii. 10. One of the agents of France to the States-
General, iv. 203. Deputed by Jeannin to Henry IV.
357. Solicits the archduke in favour of the prince of
Epinoy, 380. Foretels the persecution of the prot-
estants under the new reign, v. 69.
- Preachers.* Their number augmented at the peace of
1570, i. 6. Diminished at the peace of 1577, 59.
See also *Nantz* (Edict of).

Prepondie,

I N D E X.

- Prependie.* An agent of the duke of Bouillon's, iii. 414.
- Pressaigny,* A protestant gentleman, present at the battle of Saveuse, i. 168.
- Primerose.* A protestant preacher at Bourdeaux, iv. 188.
- Princes.* The duty of princes in the administration of their government, iii. 318. See *Kings, Governments, Policy, &c.*
- Privas.* (Synod of) The dispute concerning Saint John d'Angely terminated there, v. 165. See *Roban.*
- Profession of faith* made by Henry IV. The objections to this writing removed by Sully: it is sent to Rome, i. 331, 332.
- Professions and trades.* Regulations concerning them projected in the cabinet of state, iv. 336. See *Cabinet of state.* Artists, merchants, shepherds, and labourers, how useful to the kingdom, 338.
- Promise of marriage* between the princess Catherine and the count of Soissons: another given by Henry IV. to madame de Verneulle. See their names, *Sully, Entregues.*
- Prognosticks* of the death of Henry IV. and this prince's presages of it, iv. 432. See *Henry IV.*
- Protection* of Sedan and Raucourt. A treaty called so, made by Henry IV. and afterwards annulled. See *Bouillon, Sedan, &c.*
- Protestants.* The state of their affairs at the peace of 1570. Their successes in the war, i. 4. They suffer themselves to be deceived by Catherine de Medicis, notwithstanding many causes for distrust: artifices made use of to deceive them, 16. Their leaders greatly caressed at court, 24. Many of them quit Paris, 29. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the extremities to which they are reduced: they re-establish their affairs, 40. Take several towns, and become powerful by being joined by Monsieur and prince Casimir, 48. They conclude an advantageous treaty of peace, 49. They again take up arms; and lose some of their advantages at the peace of Monsieur, 59. They renew the war, 65. They undertake several enterprises with different success: the advantages which they gain by the treaty of 1580, 77. Assembly held at Montaubon, and conferences at St. Paul de La-Miatte, in which their leaders lay the foundation of a protestant republic in France: Sully opposes these schemes, 101. Henry III. sends three armies against them, 116. Councils held upon the arrival of the foreign forces in France, in which

I N D E X.

which they take bad resolutions, 121, 123. A persecution is raised against them, 136. The defeat of Auneau throw the party into consternation, 149. The murder of the Guises blasts the great designs of the League against them, 155. The councils of their leaders of dangerous consequence to Henry IV. 160. Their quarrels with the catholics in his army occasion the raising of the siege of Rouen, 246, 247. They refuse to pursue the prince of Parma, after his passage over the Seine: their designs, 259. They lose the battle of Craon, 266. And defeat the troops of the League before Villemur, 274, 275. Sully shows them the necessity of treating with the catholics, 297. They reject the conditions offered by the League to Henry IV. 306. This prince obliges them to consent to the conferences with the catholics, 316. Their preachers betray their religion with flattery, 327. Their leaders discover more obstinacy with regard to the articles of Henry's abjuration, *ib.* They consent to it at length, *ib.* This prince's wise conduct towards them: they oppose the truce, 336. and take measures contrary to the royal authority, *ii.* 7. Their insolent jests at the ceremony of the king's absolution, 59, 60. Military operations between them and the party of the League, in the provinces, 59. Their frequent mutinies, and schemes formed by them during the siege of Amiens: they hold assemblies on this subject, 151, 152. Observations upon the edict of Nantz, *ib.* Henry employs himself in the composition of this treaty, 165. The disobedience and plots of the protestants, *i.* 75. The advantages they have over the catholics by the edict of Nantz, 181. They insert an article in it by stratagem, but are obliged to suffer it to be suppressed, 266. Their leaders endeavour to prevail upon the king of England to declare himself protector of the protestant party in France, and the elector Palatine his lieutenant, *iii.* 119. A protestant faction in Europe opposed to the catholic faction: examination of these two factions; their strength, &c. 168. See *Political Design*. Quarrels between the English protestants and the puritans, 196. The French protestants cabal at the synod of Gap, 212. Their rage against Villeroi on occasion of the treachery of L'Hote, 253. A farther account of the plots of their leaders: their opposition to Sully in Poitou, 282. This minister is accused of carrying on secret correspondences with them, 402. General assembly

I N D E X.

sembly of protestants at Châtelleraut: the designs and conduct of the two parties in this assembly, iv. 30. See *Châtelleraut*. Queen Margaret gives some information against the protestants, 42. The part they take in the affair of Orange and Blacons, 70. The hatred of their leaders against Sully, 82. They endeavour to render the enterprise against Sedan ineffectual, 115. Precautions taken with them by Henry on this occasion, 119. and by Sully in his letter to Parabere, 125. Henry observes all their measures, and will not permit them to hold a national synod, 151. He is offended with them for their conduct in the synod of Rochelle: but pacified by Sully, 184. They affect great contempt for this minister: other errors in their conduct, 188. Murmurs and cabals at court upon Henry's conduct towards them, 191. See *Spain, Jesuits, Courtiers*. Methods made use of by them to break off the proposed marriage between the marquis of Rosny and mademoiselle de Mercœur, and to keep Sully in their religion, 245. Farther account of their plots; and Sully's prudent advice to Henry upon this occasion, 273. General assembly of Gergeau. See *Gergeau*. The Moors offer to embrace the protestant religion, and to come over to France, 302. False informations against the protestants, 377. Henry is made to suspect them, in order to turn him from his great design, 410, 429. Mary de Medicis declares herself against the protestant party, v. 21. and sacrifices them to her new connections with Spain, 35. Bouillon advises the prince of Condé to declare himself the head of the French protestants, 50. They are threatened with a persecution under the new reign, 286. Sully defends them in full council against the calumnies of Villeroi, 82. Part of the great design relating to the protestant religion, 131. The protestants in Germany join the confederacy, 146. The protestants support Sully openly, in the assembly of Châtelleraut, against the court, 162. War declared against them under the administration of cardinal Richelieu, 171.

Provence. The king of Spain endeavours to put the duke of Savoy into possession of this province, i. 270. The rebels make an attempt to seize the strong towns in it, iv. 29.

Provinces of France. Debts due to them discharged by Sully, iv. 212.

Provinces (United). See *Flanders*.

Proutiere.

I N D E X.

Proutiere. (Philip Gourea de La) deputed by Catherine de Medicis to the queen of Navarre, i. 14.

Prussia. See *Brandenburg*.

Pucharnaut. Agent for Henry IV. in Auvergne, iii. 315.

Puget. Treasurer of the Exchequer, iii. 398. Brings Sully a comptant from the queen, which he refuses to sign, v. 61.

Puisseaux. Sully is sent thither by Henry IV. ii. 361.

Puritans. Quarrels between them and the English protestant, iii. 196. Conferences at London between them and the church of England, 344.

Q.

QUAST. A protestant gentleman: what happened to him at Marmande, i. 70.

Quelus, or Caylus. See *Caylus*.

Quentin. (Saint) The battle of St. Quentin lost by the constable of Montmorency: an account of what followed afterwards, i. 12.

Henry goes to St. Quentin to see mademoiselle D'Estrees, 217. Strange proposals made by the princes of the blood and the French lords to Henry, ii. 195.

Questions. Intended to be asked by father Cotton of a dæmon, iv. 148.

Quimper. Taken by marshal D'Aumont, ii. 11.

R.

Rabodange. A protestant gentleman: escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29. A letter wrote to him by Charles IX. ib.

Rafis. (John de Leyré, called) Discovers the treason of L'Hote, iii. 245. Gives information of it to Barrault, and escapes out of Spain, 248. Comes to Henry IV. and gives him proofs of it: rewards which he obtains for this discovery, ib.

Ragny. Henry IV. is wounded by Chatel, as he was giving him audience, ii. 36. This prince gives him the employment formerly possessed by the baron de Lux, iii. 413.

Ragny. (Madame de) A confidant of Henry IV.'s in his amours, iii. 249.

Raimond. (Father) A jesuit, iv. 317.

Raleigh. Sully sees him at Dover, ii. 370. One of the malecontents at London, iii. 187. Information given by

I N D E X.

- by him to Sully, 135. He conspires against the king of England, 196.
- Rambouillet*. (Nicholas D'Angennes, marquis of) i. 105. Has great share in cementing the union of the two kings, 160. and in the treaty of Pleffis-les-Tours, 163.
- (N. de). Mentioned in the amours of Henry IV. iv. 249.
- Rambours*. (N. de) Murders the young D'Epinoy: Henry IV. and Sully suffer this affair to sleep, iv. 180.
- Ranchin*. Physician to the constable de Montmorency: contributes to the seizing of the Luquisses, iv. 59.
- Randon*. (John-Lewis de La-Rochefoucault, count of) Loses the battle of Iffoire against the protestants, i. 204.
- Rapin*. (Nicholas) Provost, iii. 74.
- Raflignac*. (N. de) One of the heads of the League in Languedoc, ii. 98.
- Ratifbon*. (Diet of) Where a conference is held between the catholics and protestants upon the means of reconciling the two religions, ii. 398.
- Ravaillac*. (Francis) The proceedings at his trial suppress, iv. 440. Other faults attributed to his judges, and remarks upon this conduct, 441. A particular account of the assassination of Henry IV. 445. Examination of the different opinions concerning the causes of the authors of this parricide, ib. Ravaillac's punishment: particulars on this subject, v. 1, 2.
- Raucourt*. See *Bouillon*, *Sedan*.
- Ravensperg*. A dispute concerning the succession to it. See *Cleves*.
- Ravestein*. A dispute concerning the succession to it. See *Cleves*.
- Reason*. (Council of) Established in the assembly des notables at Rouen, ii. 127. The forming of this council, 133. which afterwards requests Henry IV. to suppress it, 134.
- Rebours*. A protestant officer, i. 162.
- Commissioner for registering the rents, iii. 325.
- Rebuy*. Henry IV. orders the fortifications of that place to be demolished, iv. 206.
- Receivers*. General and particular: Sully gives them rules, and punishes those who act contrary to them, iv. 215. The regulations to which he subjects them, 217. Receivers to be created upon occasion, 339.
- Recolets*. Instituted, iii. 213.
- Recrainville*. (Lewis d'Alonville de) Or L'Arclainville, commands in Chartres for the League, i. 168.

I N D E X :

- Reformed.* See *Protestants.*
- Refuge.* (N. Du-) Agent in Switzerland, iv. 225. Sully charges him with behaving ill there, 393.
- Regalia.* (Rights of) Unalienable: in what it consists, iii. 360.
- Regency.* of the kingdom, confirmed to Mary de Medicis, v. 17, 18. The count of Soissons endeavours to get it annulled, 22. As also the prince of Conde, 43.
- Regiments.* Raised by Sully, named after the provinces, ii. 143.
- Regulations.* In the finances, police, soldiery, marine, ommerce, &c. See these names, *Arrets*, *Decrees*.
- Regnardiere.* (La-) A court buffoon, banished, ii. 31. A bon-mot of his concerning Beringhen, iii. 54.
- Regnault.* First surgeon to Henry IV. ii. 212.
- Regnourd.* Inspector of accounts employed in registering the rents, ii. 37. Sully's confidence in him, and the advice he gives him before he retires from court, v. 91.
- Religion.* Memorial drawn up by Sully upon the toleration of religions, i. 382. This minister's reflections upon policy respecting religion, ii. 176. Part of the great design of Henry IV. relating to religion: division of the several religions, and the means of keeping them in tranquillity, v. 17. See *Political design*. See also *Sully*, *Pope*, *Catholics*, &c.
- Renaud.* (Rachel) Discovers the conspiracy of La-Fleche, iii. 163.
- Reniers.* Escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew by the assistance of Vezins his enemy, i. 40. Succours Montaubon, and defeats a body of troops belonging to the League, 41. Leaves to Themines the care of defending Villemur, 272.
- Rennes.* Sully resides there while he settles the affairs of this province, ii. 170. Henry IV. passes some time there: his firmness with respect to the sovereign courts, 173, 192.
- Renouilliere.* (La-) Bedchamber woman to the queen, iv. 107.
- Rents.* Sully undertakes to prove them, iii. 323. Regulations on this head, iv. 1.
- Reole.* (La-) Taken by the protestants, i. 49. Catherine de Medicis confers there with the king of Navarre, 61. Ussac delivers up this place to the League, 63.
- Republic.* (A protestant) Scheme of establishing it in France formed by admiral Coligny. See *Coligny*. The heads of the party endeavour to put it into execution, iv. 62.

I N D E X:

- iv. 62. Bouillon seeks to engage the prince of Condé in the design, v. 50. See *Protestants*.
- Republis.* (Belgick, Helvetick, Italian, and Venetian) Projected in the great design. See these names, *Political Design*.
- Requests.* (Chambers of) Supprest in the parliament of Toulouse: Henry IV. undertakes to suppress them all, iii. 211.
- Refnel.* (Antony de Clermont Marquis de) One of the heads of the protestant party, i. 24. Murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 32.
- Refnel.* (Company of) Defeated by Henry IV. i. 135.
- Retz.* (Albert de Gondy, duke of) One of the counsellors of Catherine de Medicis, i. 27. Henry IV. takes from him the cognizance of the treaty with the duke of Guise, ii. 19. and makes him one of the members of the new council of finances, 31. He is employed in the affair of the isles with the grand duke, ii. 381.
- Retz.* (Charles de Gondy de). See *Bellisle*.
- Retz.* (Peter de Gondy de). See *Gondy (Cardinal de)*.
- Revenues.* (Royal) Estimation made of them in the assembly des notables, and divided between the king and the state, ii. 127. See *Notables*, *Reason* (Council of). Memorial upon means: the augmenting them, iv. 339. See *Finances*, *Forms*, *Taille*, *Imposts*, &c.
- Revol.* (Lewis) Secretary of State: Henry IV. consults him upon his conversion, i. 288.
- Rheims.* Revolts from the duke of Guise, and surrenders to Henry IV. ii. 20. The reception given by this prince to the deputies from Rheims, 23. This city refuses to admit the jesuits, iii. 371. Lewis XIII. is crowned there, v. 68.
- Rhimberg.* Besieged and taken by the prince of Orange, ii. 363. Retaken by the Spaniards, iv. 170.
- bone.* The borders of this river, as far as Lyons, ceded to the king by the treaty of Lyons, ii. 346. Henry IV. secures to himself this possession, iii. 358. See *Avignon*.
- Richardot.* (John de) President, employed in the affair of a treaty of commerce between France and Spain, iii. 335. In the negociations for a peace between Spain and the United Provinces, iv. 297. His instructions are stolen from him, 299. His death, 321.
- Richelieu.* (Francis du Plessis de) Endeavours to injure Sully during his journey to Poitou, iii. 287. Henry

I N D E X.

- employs him to reconcile this minister and Father Cotton, 378.
- Richelieu.* (Cardinal de) Follows the political system formed by Sully for humbling the house of Austria, iii. 244. He occasions the loss of a law suit to Sully, which hastens his death, v. 175.
- Richelieu.* (Father) A jesuit, dedicates a book to Sully, iii. 379.
- Rieux.* (Rene de) De Sourdiac, one of the heads of the League, i. 293.
- Rieux.* Governor of Noyon, defends himself there with great bravery, i. 220.
- Rieux.* (N. de) Deputed by the prince of Conde to Sully, v. 43.
- Rigault.* Defends Corbeil bravely against the prince of Parma, i. 213.
- Rignac.* (Peter de) Lieutenant for the duke of Bouillon: his plots in the protestant party during the siege of Amiens, ii. 151. Sent by Bouillon to Henry IV. iii. 39. Promises to defend his towns against this prince, but abandons them, iv. 78, 131.
- Riffey.* (N. de Crequy de) Attends Henry IV. in the campaign of Franch-Comte, ii. 56.
- Rivet.* A factious preacher among the protestants, iv. 185.
- Roannais* (Duke of) Cabals with the malecontents, iv. 273.
- Robin de Tours.* A contractor, attempts to bribe Sully and his wife with presents, ii. 274.
- Roche.* (Count de La-) Takes Agen. See *Agen*, *Mutignou*.
- Rochebeaucourt.* (La-) Obtains the post of king's lieutenant in St. John d'Angely, iv. 151. and is driven from hence by the duke of Rohan, iii. 360. See *Ageaux*, (Des).
- Roche-Chalais.* Henry IV. takes possession of this post. See *Coutras*.
- Rochefort.* (La-) Sully buys a horse of him at the battle of Ivry, i. 195.
- Rochefoucault.* (Francis duke de La-) Suspected of murdering the duke of Guise, i. 12, 24. Murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 32.
- (Francis duke de La-) Son of the former duke, colonel-general, present at the siege of Fontenay, i. 121. At the battle of Coutras one of the royalist commanders in Limosin, ii. 98. He is slain at the battle of St. Yrier, *ibid*.

Rochefoucault.

I N D E X.

Rochefoucault. (The Abbe de La-) Made a cardinal, iv. 392.

Roche-Guyon. (N. de Silly count de La) i. 105.

Rochelle. A strong town given to the protestants, i. 4.

Catherine de Medicis endeavours to get possession of it by stratagem, 19. The duke of Anjou is forced to raise the siege of it, 40. A treaty is made with Rochelle, ib.

Honours paid by the Rochellers to Henry IV. 49. Per-

nicious designs of the protestants assembled there against

Henry IV. 159. Henry praises Rochelle. Honours

paid by it to the king in the person of Sully, ii. 2.

Henry's kind reception of the deputies from Rochelle,

218. Quarrel between Sully and d'Epernon concern-

ing that government, 220. Sully prevents their hold-

ing an assembly there, 280. Terminates the differences

between the protestants and catholics in Rochelle, 281.

and obliges the Rochellers to give the king satisfaction

with regard to the synod held in this town, iv. 291.

Sully supports the Rochellers against the jesuits in the

affair of father Seguiran, 186. He loses several great

sums which he had lent them, v. 105.

Rochemorte. (Lewis Bouchereau de) Surprises Angers, and takes it for Henry IV. but loses it again, and is slain there, i. 106.

Rochepot. (Antony de Silly de la) Advises Sully to attend Monsieur to Flanders, i. 77. He is sent ambassador to Spain: insulted at Madrid, ii. 365. Returns to France, iii. 185.

Rochester. The hatred of its citizens to the French, iii. 96.

Rochette. Agent for the duke of Savoy in the affair of the marquisate of Saluces, ii. 284.

Rochette. (La) Agent for the duke of Guise in his treaty with Henry, ii. 19.

Roche Vandaïs. (La) An antient fortress in Auvergne, i. 5.

Rodelle. Master of the horse to queen Margaret: he gives information of the plots carried on by the malecontents to Henry and to Sully, iv. 43.

Rodolphus. (Emperor) His wars with Hungary and the Turks. The king of Spain deprives him of Final, iii. 59. An account of the war against the Hungarians and Turks, 60. He seizes upon Donavert unjustly, iv. 306. Examination of his claim upon the principalities of Cleves and Juliers, &c. 396. He gives the investiture of them to the archduke Leopold; and endeavours to gain over Henry to his interest, 401. He

I N D E X.

occasions an insurrection of the German protestants by his cruelties to them, 421. Suffers Juliers to be taken by the confederates, v. 55. and shares the succession of Cleves between the elector of Brandenburg and the palatinate of Neubourg, 56. See *Cleves*. The only part left for him to take by the great design of Henry IV. 158. See *Political Design*. See also *Empire, Germany, Austria* (house of).

Rohan. (House of) Alliances of this house: its claim to the succession of the house of Albret, for the appanages of Navarre, Foix, and Armagnac, ii. 97. The pretended heir of this house. See *Tancrede*.

Rohan. (Benjamin de) See *Soubise*.

Rohan. (Henry II. duke of) The princess Catherine proposes a marriage between him and mademoiselle de Sully, ii. 97. Henry IV. gives his consent to this match, iii. 211. The duke of Rohan's cabals in the protestant party, and with the king of England, 283. His reception of Sully in Poitou, 291. His claim to the succession to the house of Albret. See *Rohan* (house of). He marries mademoiselle de Sully: grants made him by Henry upon his marriage, 412. An account of the son pretended to be born by this marriage. See *Tancrede, Rohan, Margaret de Bethune*, (duchess of). Henry IV. refuses the duke of Rohan the privilege of nominating the king's lieutenant of Saint John d'Angely, 413. See *Ageaux* (Des). Sully in the king's name forbids the assembly of Chatelleraut to admit his deputies, iv. 51. He obtains his pardon of Henry IV. 151, and does the king some services in detecting the plots of the courtiers, 197, 257. He commands the Swiss troops in Cleves. Approves Sully's design of resigning his employments, v. 37. Is made marshal de camp general of the army sent to the siege of Juliers, 55. Mary de Medicis makes use of his interest with Sully to prevail upon him to leave Montrond, 72. He purchases the government of Poitou from Sully, 104. and openly supports his cause in the assembly of Chatelleraut, 163. His dispute with the queen-regent about the king's lieutenancy of Saint John d'Angely, 165.

Rohan. (Lewis de) See *Montbazon*.

Rohan. (Rene, viscount of) Defends Lusignan, i. 44.

Rohan. (Catherine de) Marries the duke of Deux-Ponts, iii. 66.

Rohan.

I N D E X.

- Rohan.* (Catherine de Parthenay, duchess of) Gives bad advice to the princess Catherine concerning Henry IV. and Sully, ii. 88. She alters her opinion, and favours this minister, 97. Her plots with the protestant party, 167.
- Rohan.* (Margaret de Bethune, duchess of) A marriage between her and the count of Laval is proposed, and afterwards with the duke of Rohan, ii. 97. Henry IV. approves of this marriage, iii. 212. and causes it to be celebrated: gratuities given by him to the new-married couple, 411. An anecdote concerning the supposititious son of this marriage. See *Tancrede*.
- Roffy.* (John James de Nismes de) Commands the king's troops in Auvergne, iv. 78.
- Rollet* (Du) An officer in the royalist party: present at the battle of Ivry, i. 298. Contributes to the taking of Louviers, 223. Traverses Sully's treaty with Villars, 365.
- Romain.* (Saint) A miracle related of this pious archbishop: origin of the privileges of the canons of Rouen, iv. 228. See *Gargouille*.
- Rome and Roman empire.* The establishment of manufactures, tending to promote luxury, wisely prohibited there, iii. 363. Its revolutions: causes of its fall, v. 112.
- Roncas.* Agent for the duke of Savoy in the affair of Saluces: his artifices and breach of faith, iii. 29.
- Ronsoy.* (Company of) Defeated by Henry IV. i. 135.
- Roquelaure.* (Antony de) Marshal of France: one of the heads of the protestant party, i. 51. His character: a humorous dialogue between Henry IV. and him; another between him and the archbishop of Rouen, on the subject of the princess Catherine's marriage, ii. 258. He assists in forcing Henry from the duchess of Beaufort, when they were obliged to part, 273. He is one of the favourites of Henry IV. ii. 361. and a friend of Sully's, iii. 216. Henry sends him to compliment queen Margaret in his name, iv. 92. He is summoned to the council on the affair of Sedan, 124. Quarrels between the family of Roquelaure and Noailles appeased by Sully, 157.
- Rosan.* (N. de Durefort de) Fights a duel with Turenne, i. 64. See *Duras*, *Bouillon*.
- Rosieres.* (Madame de) A friend of the cardinal of Bourbon's, i. 298.

I N D E X.

Rosieres. (Les) The duke of Mercœur's baggage defeated in this place, i. 135.

Rosny. (Christian de Savigny, baron of) One of the general officers in the service of the League: brings troops to the assistance of Noyon, i. 220. and to Rouen when besieged, 237, 238. One of the four marshals of France made by the League, 307. Takes Le Catelet and La Capelle, ii. 46. Defeats the French at Dourlins, 48.

Rosny. Castle and estate of Rosny belonging to Sully, i. 4. Where he receives the duke of Joyeuse, 99. A plague at Rosny: Sully forces his brother to open the gates to him, 169. Narrowly misses taking the duke d'Aumale prisoner there, 188. Returns thither in triumph after the battle of Ivry, 201, 202. During his stay there, is informed of the death of the duchess of Beaufort, ii. 276. Receives and entertains the king there: an accident disturbs the entertainment, iv. 138. In what manner this estate was purchased, v. 104. Sully resides there some time after the death of Henry IV. 177. His buildings there, 185.

Rosny. (Francis de Bethune, baron of) Father of the duke of Sully: he retires thither at the peace of 1570, i. 4. His alliances, ib. State of his family and domestick affairs, 7. 22. He attends the queen of Navarre, ibid. His advice not listened to. 24. He makes his escape at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. His letter to his son on that occasion, 34.

Rosny. (Maximilian de Bethune, baron, afterwards marquis of) Duke of Sully. See *Sully*.

Rosny. (Maximilian II. de Bethune, marquis of) Eldest son of the duke of Sully: he begins to have a share in the affairs of state, iv. 150. Henry IV. sends Du Laurens to him during his indisposition, 180. Several great matches proposed for him, 238. The king marries him to mademoiselle de Crequy: uneasiness caused by this alliance to the father and the son, 239. Particulars relating to this marriage, and to the private conduct of Rosny: the king proposes to give him mademoiselle de Vendome in marriage, 241. He refuses to change his religion, 242. Henry IV. reconciles the duke of Vendome and him, 421. He gives him the reversion of the post of grand master of the ordnance: and he commands the artillery in the expedition of Cleves, 431. He prevents his father from resigning his employments,

I N D E X.

- v. 37. Mary de Medicis makes use of his interest to prevail upon Sully to leave Montrond, 93. The fortune he received with his wife, 103. Sully lends him money, and pays his debts, 105. The uneasiness which his dissolute conduct gives to Sully, 55.
- Rosny.* (Baron of) See *Bethune* (Solomon de).
- Rosny.* (N. de) Sully defends Passy against him, i. 192.
- Rosset.* A physician, sent for to Monceaux, during the indisposition of Henry IV. ii. 212.
- Rotonneau.* (Isle and castle of) Surprised by the grand duke of Tuscany, and restored to Henry IV. ii. 380. See *Isles*.
- Roubais, or Robeck.* (Robert de Melun, marquis of) Takes Bouillon prisoner, i. 81. Cause of his hatred of Sully, 82.
- Roubais.* (Mary de Melun, lady de) ii. 294. Refuses to give her consent to a marriage between the marquis of Cœuvres and mademoiselle de Melun. iii. 414.
- Rouen.* The protestants take possession of it, i. 19. and d'Allegre retakes it for the League. 190. Henry IV. prepares to invest it, 225. He begins the siege, and makes an unsuccessful attack, 226. 230. The trenches forced at different times by that prince and admiral Villars, 231. The vigorous defence made by this governor, 235, 246. Henry is obliged to raise the siege, 249. Villars treats with Sully for the surrender of Rouen, 363. And sends away the Spaniards and Leaguers, 381. Ceremony of its surrender, 382. Sully makes another journey to this city, ii. 81. The states, or the assembly of des notables held there. See *Notables*. Sum paid by Henry for the surrender of Rouen, 227. That prince goes to Rouen, and is taken ill there: motives for this journey, iii. 212. Sully causes a bridge to be built there, iv. 287. Arrets issued by the parliament of Rouen: privileges of the canons of the cathedral, 228. See *Romain* (Saint), *Gargouille*, *Pebu*, *Fierte*.
- Rovidius.* (Alexander) A Milanese senator: employed in the affair of settling a commerce between France and Spain, iii. 335.
- Rouffe.* (La) Woman to the duchess of Beaufort. Sully causes her to be shut up in the Bastile, ii. 274.
- Rouffiere.* (La) Governor of Fontenay for the League, i. 123.
- Rouffillon.* A scheme of Henry's for depriving Spain of this province, v. 154. See *Political design*.
- Rouffy.*

I N D E X.

Rouffy. (Count of) Solicits a pardon for marshal Biron.
See *Biron*. Slain in the battle of Arques. See *Arques*.

Rouxel. See *Medavy*.

Rubenpre. (Andrew de Bourbon de) Deputed to Henry IV.
by the states of Blois, i. 58.

Rucelay. The queen pawns her jewels to her, iv. 230.

Rue. (La-) A gentleman in Sully's service, wounded with
him at the encounter of Chartres, i. 217.

Rueres. Godfather to the marquis de Rosny, i. 136.

Rumigny. His speech to marshal Biron upon the scaffold,
iii. 24.

Rumilly. (Treaty of) Between the duke of Savoy and the
republic of Geneva, iii. 60.

Rusé. (Martin) de Beaulieu. Secretary of state, i. 206.
Henry IV. takes from him the cognisance of the treaty
with the duke of Guise, ii. 19. He favours the jesuits
in the quarrel between father Seguiran and the Ro-
chellers, iii. 188.

Russia. See *Muscovy*.

Russy. (Elias de La-Place de) Agent for Bouillon with
Henry IV. iv. 53. This prince sends him to Flanders,
200. where he concludes the treaty of mediation with
Jeannin, &c. 383.

S.

Sagonne. (John Babou de) Slain at the battle of Arques,
i. 182.

Salcede. His resistance to the Guises: the cause of his
death, i. 151.

Salettes. (N. de) President of the parliament of Paris: one
of the heads of the protestant party, i. 296. See
Morlas.

Salignac. (John de Gontault de) His duel with Rosan, i.
65. One of the heads of the protestant party, ii. 171.
Solicits a pardon for Biron, iii. 26. Ambassador to the
Ottoman Port, 363. Demands in the name of the
Grand Seignior, that a resident at Marseilles may be
permitted, iv. 271.

Salt-pits. Henry IV. is slandered with having intended to
seize them, iii. 3. Sully undeceives the people in this
respect.

Salic-law. An erroneous opinion of Sully's concerning this
law, iii. 349.

Sallian. (Father) a jesuit, iv. 317.

Salt.

I N D E X.

- Salt.* The price of it increased to fifteen sols three bushels, ii. 142. The courtiers farm this subsidy under borrowed names, iv. 2. Edict upon salt in favour of the duke of Maienne, 10. Regulations upon this part of the revenue, 157. See *Gabelle*.
- Saluces.* (Marquisate of) A dispute concerning it: this article not decided in the treaty of Vervins, ii. 195. Artifices of the duke of Savoy to elude the restitution of it, 283. Commissioners appointed to settle this affair, 301. Sully's reasons for not giving up this fief, 302. The duke of Savoy has recourse to many subterfuges during the settling of this affair, 307. Conditions upon which Saluces is ceded to that prince, 347. See *Treaty of Lyons, Savoy, &c.*
- Samblançay.* See *Beaune*.
- Sancerre.* Siege of this town: the extremity to which it is reduced: it makes an honourable treaty, i. 40.
- Sancy.* (Nicholas de Harlay de) One of the heads of the protestant party, i. 296. Serves Villeroy in his treaty: his character, his services, ii. 28. His raillery and bon-mots upon the fair Gabriella prevent his being made superintendant of the finances, 31. He does the king several services in Lorraine and Swisserland, 35. His motives for urging Henry IV. to march to Burgundy, 39. He refuses to restore Calais to Elizabeth, 63. His quarrel with Sully in the king's presence, 105. He leaves the council of finances, 146. The king of England blames his conduct, iii. 128. His hatred of Sully: his dissipation: Henry IV. purchases his jewels, 399. His justification against part of Sully's reproaches, *ibid.* Sully buys the lands of Dourden of him, v. 103.
- Sancy.* (Jacqueline de Harlay) Marries the marquis d'Alincourt, ii. 222.
- Santenay.* Made one of the members of the new council of finances, ii. 41. 135. One of Sully's enemies, iii. 399. He lends money to Henry IV. iv. 230.
- Santi.* Gardener to the queen, iii. 276.
- Saone.* Henry's brave exploits against the Spaniards and the League at the pass of this river, ii. 58. Utility of its being joined with the Loire, iii. 322.
- Saraot.* (Viscount of) His advice to Sully, iii. 121.
- Sardinia.* A scheme for obtaining the sovereignty of it for the duke of Anjou, i. 76.
- Sarroques.* A Flemish captain, iii. 340.

Savary.

I N D E X.

- Savary*. Mentioned in a letter written by father Cotton, iv. 317.
- Saubion*. A gratuity granted him by Henry IV. iv. 357.
- Saveuse*. (Anne de Brosse-) Present at the battle so called, i. 168.
- Saveuse*. (Battle of) or Bonneval. Sully's behaviour in it, i. 169.
- Saveuse* (Charles de Brosse-) Loses the battle of Bonneval, where he is wounded, and dies in despair, i. 168.
- Sault*. (Christian d'Aguirre, countess of) Her party in Provence, i. 271. Favours that of the king's there, ii. 28. and assists in driving out the dukes of Savoy and d'Epernon, 100. She endeavours to procure a marriage between the marquis of Rosny and mademoiselle de Crequy; and to hinder Sully's conversion, iv. 245. Engages in Henry's amours, 249. who refuses her a grant which she had solicited, 273.
- Sault*. (De) The king's attorney at Bourdeaux, iv. 229.
- Saulx*. See *Tavannes*.
- Saumur*. One of the five cities that continued faithful to Henry III. i. 160. Given to Henry IV. as a cautionary city by the treaty between the two kings, 163. Mornay obtains the government of it, which had been refused to Sully, *ibid*. The protestants there hold a mutinous assembly, iii. 213. Du-Plessis Mornay puts himself to needless expences to fortify Saumur, iv. 51. The judge of that city reprimanded by Sully, 228. Another assembly is held there. See *Chatelleraut*.
- Savoy*. Henry IV. carries the war thither: the taking of towns, and other particulars relating to this war: treaty of peace, ii. 347. Design of Philip II. to seize that state: part of the great design with respect to Savoy, iv. 112. See *Charles Emanuel*. See also *Lombardy*, *Political design*, &c.
- Savoy*. (Princes and children of) Their claim to the privilege of honorary canon in the cathedral of Lyons denied the dukes of Savoy, ii. 299. Philip III. sends for the children of Savoy to Madrid, and gives them the dignities of Spain, iii. 200.
- (Charles-Emanuel, duke of). He unites with Spain and the league, and has bad success in Provence, i. 270. His plots with the states of Paris ineffectual, 312. He supports the party of the duke of Nemours in Lyons, but cannot hinder it from being driven from thence, 390. Victories gained by Lesdiguières over the duke of Savoy, ii.

I N D E X.

ii. 12. by the constable de Montmorency in Dauphiny and Lyonnois, 38. Other encounters in which the troops are defeated by Lesdiguières, 98. He signs the treaty of Vervins at Chamberry, 183, 195. He demands the princess Catherine in marriage, 195. His artifices to avoid making a restitution of the marquise of Saluces, 283. He resolves to go to Paris for that purpose, 285. A saying of his concerning this journey, *ibid.* He arrives at Paris, 298. Henry's reception of him at Fontainebleau: informations given against him: his observations upon the ill success of his journey, 299. He is disgusted with his reception from the counts of Lyons: reciprocal complaints between him and the council of Madrid, *ibid.* He visits Sully at the Arsenal, and endeavours to gain him over to his interest, and to corrupt him with gifts, 302. He gains over the courtiers, and the commissioners appointed by the king, by his presents: the magnificent new-year's gifts which he receives from Henry IV. and those which he presents to the whole court, 301. He obtains a delay of three months, contrary to Sully's advice, 304. He returns to Savoy in discontent, 305. Breaks through his engagement, 307. Suspends, by new artifices, Henry's march against him, 309. He is comforted by a prediction that is made him, 313. Towns and forts taken from him, and a particular relation of the whole campaign, 314. His correspondencies with Biron, the courtiers and commissioners, tending to retard the peace, 338. Countries and forts given up by him, in exchange for Saluces, and purport of the treaty made with him, 347. See *Treaty of Lyons*. Condition of the treaty between the duke of Savoy and marshal Biron, 385. The manner in which Henry receives his congratulations upon the discovery of this conspiracy, iii. 41. Fails in an attempt upon Geneva, which is followed by a treaty of peace with that republic, 60. The true policy to be observed by the council of Savoy, with Spain and the house of Austria: the great design of Henry IV. useful to the duke of Savoy, 168. See *Political Design*. Charles-Emanuel animates Spain against France, 201. He sends his children to Madrid: dignities bestowed upon them there, 201. He puts an end to his wars with the republic of Geneva, 202. The part he has in the dispute concerning the bridge of Avignon, 309. He continues his plots against France, iv. 21. Design of Henry

I N D E X.

Henry IV. to make him king of Lombardy; and to marry his daughter Elizabeth to the son of Savoy, 112. Presents made by him to his majesty, 207. He congratulates Henry upon the birth of the duke of Anjou, 295. An alliance between the two courts projected, 325. Sully's connections with the duke of Savoy calumniated, 388. He joins in the deputation sent to the king by the princes assembled at Hall, 411. See *Cleves*. He makes a treaty of alliance with France, 421. Bullion is sent ambassador to him, 431. Mary de Medicis breaks all these engagements, and betrays this prince, notwithstanding Sully's representations, v. 33. The humiliating measures which this procedure obliges him to take with the king of Spain, 34. Part of the great design concerning him: he is to be declared king of Lombardy, 134, 143. Forces and money to be contributed by him, 151. See *Political Design, Lombardy, &c.* See also *Spain, Philip*, and the other names mentioned in this article.

Savoy-Nemours, See *Nemours*, and *Sorlin* (Saint).

Saussaye. (La) A protestant gentleman: his plots during the siege of Amiens, ii. 151. He serves the king with the protestant party.

Sauves. (Madame de) N. de Beaune de Samblancy: Henry IV. and the duke of Alençon rivals for this lady, i. 80. She introduces Sully to Catherine de Medicis, 91; and informs him of her designs, 131. Informations sent by her to the duke of Guise and the states of Blois, 157.

Sauveur. (Claude de Joyeuse de Saint) Slain at the battle of Coutras, i. 150.

Scaliger. His death, iv. 282.

Schomberg. (Gaspard de) Count of Nanteuil: Henry IV. consults him upon his conversion, i. 288. Makes him one of the members of the council of finances, ii. 31. 105. which he leaves. His death occasioned by a very extraordinary sickness: eulogium, ib. 152. He is employed in the composition of the edict of Nantz, 181. Inserts an article there, which he is obliged to alter, 263. His death, 268,

—— (Henry de). Marshal of France: Sully's friendship for him calumniated, iii. 403. He is appointed ambassador to Germany. Gives information of Ravallac's conspiracy to Henry IV. and to Sully. He is deputed to Sully by the queen regent, v. 14.

Schomberg.

I N D E X.

- Schomberg.* (Theodore) A Swiss colonel: slain at the battle of Ivry: a fine speech of Henry's concerning him, i. 199.
- (Count of) Grand marshal of the empire: honours paid him in Paris, iii. 1.
- Scotch-Guard.* Acknowledge Henry IV. for king, i. 174. The Scots faction in the court of James I. friends to France, i. 231.
- Scotland.* (Kings, queens, and princes of). See *Steuart* (*James.*)
- Seaford.* (Viscount of) Escorts Sully to London, iii. 163.
- Seals.* Given and resumed. See *Hopital* (L'), *Bellievre*, *Sillery*.
- Sebastian.* (Don) Henry IV. interests himself in the debate concerning the true or false Don Sebastian, ii. 200. Some remarkable circumstances relating to the resemblance of the pretended Don Sebastian to the true, ii. 397.
- Secretaries of State.* How different from ministers of state, ii. 221.
- Sedan.* (City and principality of) Given by the duchess of Bouillon to her husband: motives for Sully's journey thither, ii. 1. Sully's opinion of this fortress, 4. Henry IV. forms a design to take possession of it: the courtiers oppose it, iv. 113. Sully fixes him in his resolution to attack it, 119. and shows him the faults in the fortifications, 124. The late duke of Bouillon held it under the title of protection from Francis II. 125. Preparations made to besiege it: a farther account of this affair, 128. which is terminated by Bouillon's surrender of it to the king, and by the treaty of protection, &c. 132. Motives which induce Henry to take the cognizance of this affair from Sully, 137. Sayings of Henry upon this expedition, 140. Bouillon lays claim to a precedence of the dukes in the quality of prince of Sedan; but is not regarded, 155. Henry gives him back this city, and withdraws his garrison, 234. He refuses to allow the duke of Bouillon to assume the quality of sovereign lord of Sedan, 388. Gratuities which Bouillon receives from Mary de Medicis for this principality, v. 60. See upon this whole article, *Bouillon* (Duke and duchess of), *Mark* (La), *Raucourt*, &c.
- Seditious Party.* (The) Headed by Bouillon, Biron, D'Auvergne, D'Entragues, La-Tremouille, Du-Plessis-Mornay, the marchioness of Verneuil, &c. See these names,

I N D E X.

- ii. 387. Writing of association signed by them, 391. Methods made use of by them to excite a rebellion among the people, 392. They endeavour to seize some towns, *ib.* Council held at Blois for arresting the heads of the conspiracy, iii. 7. Henry IV. after the death of Biron, pardons all the rest, iii. 30. Their plots with the king of England, 260. Their cabals in France. Motives for their hatred of Sully, 398. Their cabals in Spain, iv. 23. Henry receives several informations against them. Sully's opinion of these informations, 27. Others sent by queen Margaret and Rodelle, 40. Bouillon's artifice to enrage them against Sully, 44. The great wisdom shewn by Henry and Sully in preventing and stifling their plots, 246. A farther account of their cabals, 273. The wise council which Sully gives the king on this occasion, 274. Their correspondence with Spain and the relations of the queen, 322. Other councils which Sully gives Henry IV. upon this occasion, 330. They make the king's passion for the princess of Condé subservient to their design, 368. See, upon this article, *Epernon, Conchini, Conspiracy, Parricide, French Lords, Jesuits, &c.*
- Sefondrate.* Commands the troops of Gregory IV. at the siege of Rouen, i. 235, 250.
- (John). President of the parliament: the good advice which he gives Sully when in discontent, i. 279, 280.
- (Peter). Chancellor: he supports the princes of Henrichemont in their process with Sully, v. 175.
- (Charlotte). Married to the prince of Henrichemont, iii. 367.
- Seguiran.* (Gaspard) A jesuit: his quarrel with the Rochellers, iv. 188.
- Segur.* (N. de) De Pardaillan: murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29. 51.
- (James de). Baron of Pardaillan: makes his escape at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 34.
- Seine.* The passing this river by the prince of Parma considered as a remarkable action, i. 255. Utility of its being joined to the Loire, iii. 322. Canal of Briare undertaken for this purpose, 331. See *Canals.*
- (Saint). Henry's exploits in this place. See *Fontaine-Françoise.*
- Selim.* Catherine de Medicis sends to demand of him the kingdom of Algiers for the duke of Alençon, i. 76.
- Selles.* Henry IV. raises the siege of that place, i. 317.
- See *Bethune.* *Sellier.*

INDEX

- Sellier.* (John) Henry's commissioner at Troyes, iv. 16.
Selvage. (Catherine) One of the bed-chamber women to the queen, iii. 11.
Sennamay. Henry's debts to him discharged, iv. 12.
Sens. Besieged by Henry IV. but with little success, i. 206.
Sepulchre. (Holy) The Jews solicit the grand signior to destroy it, ii. 244.
Serran. A provincial manufacturer: makes stuffs of the bark of mulberry-trees, iii. 313.
Servian. Deputy from Dauphine for the protestants, iv. 151.
Servin. A young man of a very mixed character, iii. 91.
Seure, or *Bellegarde.* A town in the possession of the league, ii. 58.
Sey. (N. de) A protestant gentleman, escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29.
Sicily. This kingdom designed to be given to the republic of Venice, v. 149. See *Political Design*.
Sidney. (Lord of Stafford) Sent by queen Elizabeth to Calais with letters for Henry IV. ii. 370. Is appointed to receive Sully in London, iii. 99.
Sieges. See each of the following names, the *Siege of Rochelle, of Sancerre.* Places taken by the protestants on Shrove-Tuesday, i. 41. Retaken 43. *Siege of Ville Franche, of Marmande, of Eause, of Fleurence, of St. Emilion.* Cities taken and lost by the league and the protestants, 65. *Siege of Cahors, of Monsegur, of Castets, of Montignac, of St. Bazille, of Fontenay, of Maillezais Mauleon, and La-Garnache; of La-Motte, St. Eloy, of Maixant, of Sarlat, of Castillon. of Chatelleraut, of Argenton, of Gergeau, Pluviers, Estampes, Chartres, Poissy, Pontoise, Lisle-Adam, Beaumont, Creil, &c.* *Siege of Paris by the two kings; of Meulan.* Attack of the suburb of Paris, *Siege of Vernon, of Evreux, of Austeville, of Alençon, Le-Man, Chateau-Briand, Chateau-Gontier, Sablé, Maienne, Lavale, Argentan, Falaise, Lisieux, Bayeux, Pontaudemur, Pont l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre de Grace, Donfront, &c.* *Siege of Dreux, of Sens, of Paris, by Henry IV. of Lagny, of Clermont, of Corbeil, of Gisors, of Joigny, of Chartres, of Corbie, of Noyon, of Nantz, of Houdan, of Louviers, and other towns in Normandy. Of Dun, Steynay, &c. of Poitiers, of Villemur, of Epernay, of Selles, of Noyon, of La-Ferté-Milon, of Laon, of Vienne and of Montluel, of*
- VOL V. E e Autun.

I N D E X.

Astun, Nuys and Dijon, of Catelet, of La-Capelle, and of Dourlens, of Ham, of Talan, of Vesou, of Cambrai, of Calais, of La-Fere, of Imbercourt, of Blaye, of Agen, &c. Cities besieged, &c. by Lesdiguieres. See Lesdiguieres. Of Amiens by the Spaniards, afterwards by the French. Of Mende, of Chamberry, Bourg, Montmelian, Carbonnieres, Sainte-Catherine, and other places in Savoy, and in Bresse, of Newport, of Rhimberg, of Ostend, of Bolduc, of Albe-Royale, Canise, &c. of Kinsale, of Gravel, Hochstrate and Dele, of Bude, Bistritzh and Pest, of Vaetendonk, of Sluise, of Cadfant, of Linghen and Bergmop-zoom, of Antwerp, of Donavert, of Pierrefort, of Sedan, Juliers, of St. John d'Angely, of Montauban, Montrand, &c. See also Skirmishes and Battles.

Sigebert. Character of this king, v. 116.

Sigismund king of Sweden. Dethroned by Charles his uncle, ii. 294.

Sigogne. (Charles de Beaufoncle de) Taken prisoner at Ivry by Sully, i. 196. D'Anelot contests with Sully for this prisoner, 198. An amusing discourse of his upon the affair of the advocates, iii. 46, 48. He is sent by Henry IV. to the marchioness of Verneuil when under confinement, 306. and labours to reconcile Henry and her, 366.

Silk. Henry IV. causes it to be cultivated in France, iii. 54. Sully's reasons for opposing it, 217, 223. Silk manufactures established, iv. 12. See *Manufactures, Fine Stuffs.*

Sillery. (Nicholas Brulat de) Chancellor deputed from the court to Henry IV. i. 104. 120. Opposes Sully's admission into the council of finances, ii. 102. and compliments him upon his entrance into it, 105. Quarrels with him in the council, 148. Labours to pacify Picardy, 166. and concludes the peace of Vervins, 170. advises Henry IV. to marry the fair Gabriella, 229. Signs the treaty of Vervins, and prevails upon the archduke to sign it, 195. Is sent ambassador to Rome, where he is employed by madame de Beaufort to solicit her marriage with Henry IV. 202. Is made minister of state. His policy with respect to Spain contrary to that of Sully's, ii. 365. He endeavours to hinder the count de Bethune from being sent ambassador to Rome, 382. Labours in the council and the court to procure a repeal of the jesuits banishment, iii. 231. His opinion concerning toleration of religions, contrary to that of Sully, 256. His plots

I N D E X.

to procure two cardinals hats for Villars and Marquẽmont, in opposition to Du-Perron and Olivary, 258. Henry IV. makes use of him to pacify his domestic troubles, 276. Sully obliges him to sign the treaty of commerce with Spain, 338. He is appointed one of the commissioners for purchasing the county of St. Paul, 361. He unites with the courtiers and jesuits in the affair of Grillon to ruin Sully, 388. for whom he lays a great many snares, 394. The cause of his hatred to Sully. Henry IV. acquaints him with the advancement of Paul V. to the pontificate, iv. 17. and avoids employing him in religious affairs, 31. He does the king many services on other occasions, 47. His letters to Sully at the assembly of Chatelleraut, 65. and to Villeroi during the expedition of Sedan, 132. He is made keeper of the Seals, and visits Sully to transact some affairs relating to this office, 176. He opposes Sully's opinion concerning the proposals made by the Flemings of giving towns in hostage to the French, 199, 226. as likewise on occasion of the cabals among the protestants, 274. and has a debate with him in the king's presence, 310. Henry IV. acquaints him with the plots formed against his life, 330. He has another dispute with Sully, 351. Henry's judgment upon his good and bad qualities, 355. He prejudices that prince against Sully with respect to the armament of Cleves, 414. His grave reply to the queen upon the death of Henry IV. He is admitted in the secret council of Mary de Medicis, v. 19. and gives her maxims of policy quite contrary to those of Henry the great, 33. He endeavours to ruin Sully, 59. who reproaches him with having made a fraudulent use of the seal, 63. He is severely reprov'd by the duke of Nevers, and advises the queen regent to recall Sully from Montrond, 69. Gratuities from the queen regent, 77. He supports Villeroi and d'Alincourt against Sully in the affair of Lyons, 81. See *Ministers, Blood* (Princess of), *Lords, &c.*

Sillery. (Noel Brulart, commander de) Engaged in the amours of Henry IV. iv. 249. Is admitted into the secret council of Mary de Medicis, v. 21. Grants which he obtains from her, 93.

Silly. See *Rocheport* and *RocheGuyon* (La).

Silvestre. (Father) A cordelier, spiritual director to madame de Maffin, i. 89.

Signiane. See *Gordes.*

I N D E X.

- Simiers.* (James de) Great master of the wardrobe to Monsieur, i. 343.
- Simiers.* (Madam de) Louiſſa l'Hopital Vitry, contributes towards the ſucceſs of the treaty between the king and Villars, i. 343, 361, 369, 381.
- Sinan-Bacha.* The Janizaries force the Grand Seignior to baniſh him, iii. 363.
- Sinceray.* Henry IV. takes this town from the duke of Bouillon, iv. 81.
- Sixteen.* (The) Mainſe cauſes four of them to be hanged for having hanged the preſident Biſſon, &c. Their inſolence, i. 237.
- Sixtus V.* A bon-mot of his to cardinal Joyeuſe upon Henry III. i. 59. He excommunicates the proteſtants and all that were enemies to the royal authority, 99. See *Treaty of Nemours.* A ſaying of his upon the Barricadoes, 152. He excommunicates Henry III. after the murder of the Guifes: his real ſentiments upon this action, and upon the conduct of the heads of the League, 162. His ſayings and predictions concerning Henry IV. the duke of Maienne, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, 185. Henry's ſpeech upon the news of his death, 235. His character: a bon-mot upon him, iv. 14.
- Sluys.* The ſiege and ſurrender of this place, iii. 339, 353.
- Sobolle.* (Raymond de Comminges de) And his brother driven out of Metz by Henry IV. particulars of this affair, iii. 61, 62.
- Soiſſons.* The League makes it one of their towns of ſecurity in their treaty with Spain, i. 284. The chiefs of the League retire thither. See *League.* The gariſon is defeated by the Royaliſts, ii. 38.
- Soiſſons.* (Charles de Bourbon count of) Joins Henry IV. and takes the duke of Mercœur's baggage, i. 135. He behaves bravely at the battle of Coutras, 141. but hinders Henry from taking advantage of his victory, 145. His deſign of marrying the princeſs Catherine contrary to the will of Henry, 146. He quits him after the Barricadoes, and offers his ſervice to Henry III. 154. by whom he is received very coldly, 155. He endeavours to prevail upon Sully to quit the party of Henry IV. 164. and advances ſlowly to the aſſiſtance of that prince at Dieppe, 185. Goes to Bearn with an intention to marry the princeſs Catherine, but does not ſucceed, 266. His character, 267. He becomes one of

I N D E X.

of the heads of the third party, 285. His views and plots with the states of Paris, 313. Sully reconciles him with the duke of Montpensier, 351, 352. and gets the contract of marriage passed between him and the prince into his own hands, 355. He defeats the troops which the Spaniards were endeavouring to throw into Laon, 401. He is made great master of the household to the king after the death of the duke of Guise, ii. 20. He demands to be made president of the council of finances, but is refused, and is obliged to attend the king into Burgundy, 41. and afterwards quits him, 42. His officers insult Sully, 43. Sully endeavours to break off his marriage with the princess Catherine, 84. He discovers the plot of Mignon to poison the king, 305. Opposes Sully's opinion with regard to the war of Savoy, 321, 333. and bears him a grudge on account of his having dissuaded the king from purchasing his estates in Piedmont, 381. He is summoned to the council held at Blois, concerning arresting the heads of the seditious party, iii. 7. He is reconciled to Sully, 87. but blames in a covert manner his negotiations at the court of London, 189. He quarrels again with that minister, whom Henry supports against him, on occasion of an edict obtained by stratagem, 209. Henry purchases his earldom of St. Paul, 361. A donation made by his majesty to this prince, iv. 10. His quarrels with the prince of Conde, 47. He quarrels again with Sully on occasion of the quarters destined for the grand master of the ordnance: his unjustifiable proceedings in that affair, 86. He refuses to be present at the reception of Sully in parliament upon his being made duke and peer, 113. He declares himself of a contrary opinion to Sully with respect to the expedition of Sedan, 125. 199. He discovers his discontent publicly, 269. and unites with the courtiers and jesuits, 317. He prejudices Henry against Sully on the affair of the armament of Cleves. He quits the court in disgust on the queen's coronation. He returns and is made one of the members of the public council of Mary de Medicis, v. 21. whose regency he endeavours to get cancelled, 25. He seeks Sully's friendship, but quarrels with him afterwards, and uses his utmost endeavours to ruin him, *ibid.* His quarrels with the prince of Conti and the duke of Guise, 27. He breaks with Conchini, but is afterwards reconciled to

I N D E X.

- him, 29. Sully's advice to him, and the other princes of the blood, 47. He combats Sully's opinion with regard to the siege of Juliers, 55. Conchini gains him by procuring for him the government of Normandy, and other favours, 56. Gratuities which he procures from the queen-regent, 87.
- Soissons.* (Hotel of) iii. 222.
- Solme.* (Count of) Great master of the household to the elector Palatine, iv. 131.
- Solv.* (Count of) Ambassador from the archduke to Henry IV. the answer of that prince to him, ii. 367.
- Sommerive.* (Charles Emmanuel de Lorraine count of) Defends Lyons against Henry IV. i. 393. Surrenders the place to him, ii. 11. Is banished by the king for his amours with the countess of Moret, iv. 264.
- Sophy.* Of Persia: he sends an ambassador to the emperor Rodolphus, ii. 367.
- Sorbonne.* (The) Hates Henry IV, i. 316. Opposes the registering of the edict of Nantz, ii. 261. Hates the jesuits, iii. 364. See *University*.
- Sorlin.* (Henry de Savoy-Nemours, marquis of Saint) Comes to Lyons to the assistance of the duke of Nemours, i. 390. Makes a treaty with the king, ii. 73. Article of the treaty of Lyons in his favour, 347. Gratuities bestowed upon him by Henry IV. iv. 256.
- Soubise.* (Benjamin de Rohan, duke of) Gives Henry cause to be offended with him, iv. 151. He commands a company in the expedition of Cleves.
- Sourdis.* (Francis d'Escourbleau, marquis of) One of the heads of the catholics who opposes Henry IV. i. 293.
- Sourdis.* (Francis d'Escourbleau de) He is made a cardinal, ii. 201. Goes to Rome to assist at the conclave, iii. 258.
- Sourdis.* (Isabella Babou de la Bourdaisiere, marchioness of) Mistress to the chancellor de Chiverny, ii. 149. Procures a cardinal's hat for her son, 201. Seconds the duchess of Beaufort's plots to bring about a marriage between her and Henry IV, 205. The duchess of Beaufort, when taken ill, desires to be carried to her house, 217.
- Southampton.* (Earl of) Escorts Sully to London, iii. 96. In great favour with the king of England, 133. His quarrel with Grey, 196.
- Souvre.* (Gilles de) A favourite of Henry III. ii. 15. An anecdote concerning him: his eulogium, 361.

Spain.

I N D E X.

Spain. The Spanish army join the duke of Maienne, i. 190. They behave well at the battle of Ivry, 193. Make proposals of union with Henry IV. 261. Defeated at Craon, 266. Worstcd in Provence and Dauphine, 270. Assist the League, 282. Their plots in the assembly of the states at Paris, 310. They endeavour to render ineffectual Henry's abjuration, 335. Their policy with regard to religion, *ibid.* The snares laid by the council of Madrid for Henry IV. 336. They offer him the infanta in marriage, 339. They leave Paris, 375. Villars obliges them to leave Rouen, 381. They send succours to the duke of Nemours. They besiege and take La Capelle, 391. Assist the jesuits in their process with the university, 399. Their grand convoy defeated before Laon, 404. Unable to hinder the place from being taken, 409. Their expeditions into Brittany, ii. 11. They endeavour to establish Burgundy into a kingdom for the duke of Maienne, 12. Driven from Marseilles by the duke of Guise, 27. Henry IV. declares war against them, 35. They endeavour to assassinate him, *ibid.* They take Le Catelet and La Capelle, 46. Defeat the French at Dourlens, *ibid.* See *Nevers, Bouillon, Villars.* They enter Franche-Comte, and are defeated by Henry IV. at Fontaine-Françoise, 53. They surprise Amiens, 140. Retaken by Henry IV. 157. They are driven out of Brittany, 170. See *Mercaeur.* Discontented with the duke of Savoy, 298. Refuses to give him succours against Henry IV. 349. Continues the war against the Dutch, 350. Henry disgusted with them: they insult his ambassador, 363. See *Rocheport (La).* Offended with Henry's journey to Calais, 367. Support the French rebels, 393. as likewise those in Ireland, 397. Continuation of their war with the Dutch, iii. 57. Their squadron defeated by the Dutch, 59. Their expedition into the Low Countries, 72. Their plots in England after the death of Queen Elizabeth, 77. They endeavour to gain James, 98. Spanish faction in London, 108. James's hatred and jealousy of them, 125. He accuses them of conspiring against his life, 129. They make him great offers to induce him to forsake France, 136. They support the English priests, and endeavour to dethrone him, 145. An idea of the catholic faction in Europe, 169. See *Political Design.* They foment the conspiracy of the English lords against James, 190. Their fleet defeated by the Dutch, 198.

I N D E X.

Continuation of their war against the Dutch, 201. The share they have in l'Hote's treason, 245. Henry unwisely prohibits trading with them, 326. Continuation of this subject, 328. Continuation of their war with the Dutch, 338. They endeavour to procure a peace with England, 341. which is at last concluded, 347. The origin of the grandeur of this crown, 344. See *Austria* (house of). The beginning of their difference with the Grisons, 363. See *Fuentes, Valteline*. Continuation of their war in Flanders, iv. 22. New plots carried on by them against James, 25. They build a new armament of gallies, 59. The queen and courtiers promote their interest, 112. Continuation of their war with the Dutch, 170. Proposals for a truce, 171. They plot against Henry in his court, 191. He orders a capture to be restored to them, 197. Continuation of the war in Flanders, 198. A great naval fight gained by the Dutch, 200. Suspension of arms, 203. The affair of the Valteline and Grisons, 207. Sully obliges them to make restitution of some encroachments made by them on the confines of Champagne, 287. Negotiations for a truce with Holland, 295. The weakness of this crown in fixing the boundaries of Navarre and Bearn, 301. As likewise in the revolt of the Moors, 302. whom they oblige to leave their states, 306. Their detestable plots against the life of Henry IV. 322. A treaty of truce concluded between them and the Dutch, 382. A farther account of their plots against Henry IV. The queen regent seeks their alliance, v. 21. and unites herself to them, 35. They send ambassadors to Paris upon the death of Henry IV. 67. The object of the great design with regard to that crown, 130.

Spain. (Kings and queens of) Charles V. Philip II. Philip III. Elizabeth of France. See these names.

Spain. (Infants and infantas of) See *Infants*.

Spinola. (The marquis of) Besieges Ostend, iii. 57. Has an audience of Henry IV, at Paris, iv. 21. His military exploits in Flanders against the prince of Orange, 23. He besieges and takes Rhimberg, 170. Concludes a treaty with the Flemmings for a suspension of arms, 297. Favours the prince of Conde's flight, 361. and dissuades the archduke from surrendering him, 372.

Spinola. (Frederick) His squadron beaten by the Dutch, iii. 57. He is killed in another naval battle, 198.

Stafford. See *Sydney*.

State.

I N D E X.

- State.* (Cabinet of) See *Cabinet*.
- States.* (The General) At Blois, See *Blois*. At Paris. See *Paris*. At Rouen. See *Notables* (Assembly of), *Rouen*. Political maxims upon the states, ii. 143. Erroneous principles upon this subject, iv. 292.
- Stenay.* Taken by the duke of Bouillon, i. 170.
- Straßbourg.* No longer concerned in farming the revenues, ii. 234. War between the cardinal of Lorraine and the prince of Brandenburg for this bishoprick, iii. 89.
- Strozay.* (Philip) One of the principal officers of Charles IX. i. 2. Endeavours to surprise Rochelle, 19.
- Stuart.* (House of) How the crown of England passed into this house, 351.
- Stuart.* (Henry) Lord Darnly. Becomes king of Scotland by his marriage with Mary Stuart. See *Stuart* (Mary).
- Stuart* (James VI.) King of Scotland, i. 13. The princess Catherine refuses to marry him, ii. 87. He congratulates Henry IV. upon the discovery of Biron's conspiracy, iii. 41. See *James King of England*.
- Stuart.* (Mary) Queen of Scotland; niece to the duke of Guise, i. 13. She marries Lord Darnley, 209.
- Stuart* (Arabella) proposed for a wife to Henry IV. ii. 185.
- Stunica* or *Cuniga.* (Don Baltazar de) His offer in the name of Spain to Henry IV. after his abjuration, is rejected by that prince, i. 335. He is sent ambassador to France, and is employed in the affair of 30 per cent. iii. 335.
- Sweden.* A revolution in that kingdom, ii. 291. The bad policy of that court, iii. 135. Part of the great design relating to Sweden, v. 134. Forces and money to be contributed by that crown, 150. See *Political design*.
- Sweden.* (Charles, king of) Dethrones Sigismund his nephew, ii. 294. and confirms himself in the throne, iv. 165. Himself and his son enter into a confederacy against the house of Austria. Boissise is appointed ambassador to this court, 431. See *Sweden, Political design*.
- Swiss.* They prevent Charles IX. from being taken at Meaux, i. 20. They grant troops to Henry III. 119. Sully treats with them for this purpose, 120. They march into France under several disadvantages, 123. and take part with the League, to avoid being cut in pieces at Auneau, 150. They are disarmed on the day of the Barricadoes, 151. They fight bravely for Henry IV. at Arques, 181. but refuse to fight at Ivry, 196. They mutiny

I N D E X.

mutiny in Henry's army after this battle, 205. They bring him succours at the siege of Rouen, 227. and refuse to pursue the prince of Parma after his passage over the Seine, 261. Their valour at the attack of the great convoy before Laon, 405. They unite with France against Spain in the war of 1595, ii. 35, 39. The Swiss troops are disbanded after the peace of Vervins, 198. Sully will not allow the Swiss to have any share in farming the revenues, 234. A solemn embassy from the thirteen cantons to renew the alliance: their reception at Paris, iii. 55. France levies soldiers in Switzerland, 56. Their dispositions and true policy with respect to the house of Austria, 171. In what consisted the advantages they were to have by the design of Henry IV. 173. See *Political Design*. They become mediators between the duke of Savoy and the republic of Geneva, 200. Abuses in the discharge of the debts due from France to the Swiss, 321. The part they have in the affair of La Valteline and the Grisons, 353. Sully slandered with carrying on criminal correspondence with them, 404. Debts contracted by Henry IV. with them during the League, iv. 7. Levies made in Switzerland, 13. The Swiss join the Grisons against Spain, 207. Sully pays the debts of the state to the cantons, 212. 225. De Refuge behaves ill there, 396. The Swiss enter into the confederacy against the house of Austria, 419. Caumartin is sent to them in the quality of ambassador. 431. Part of the great design relating to this republic: advantages for them in it, v. 143. Forces and money to be contributed by them, 151. See *Swiss, Republick, Political Design*.

Sully. (Estate and castle of) Sully purchases them, ii. 362. He builds there, iii. 36. Henry IV. erects the lands of Sully into a peerage, iv. 112. 245. Sully retires thither after the death of Henry, v. 104. His stay there, 177. He embellishes it, 185.

Sully. (Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Rosny, afterwards duke of) Particulars relating to his ancestors, his family, and his birth, i. 4. Explanations and errors corrected on this head, 4. He is brought up in the reformed religion: Goes with the court of Navarre to Paris, 22. Is presented to the king of Navarre: his studies. 24. Sully escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 33. His education, 36. His first exploits in arms, 48. He defends Perigueux and Villeneuve: he is in danger at the siege of Ville-franche, &c. 50. He quarrels

I N D E X.

quarrels with Frontenac and Turenne, 53. Follows Henry IV. to Bearn : his œconomy : he is well received by the princess Catherine, 57. He is at the taking of Eause; at the battle before Mirande; that before Nerac; and other encounters; where he is often in danger, *ibid.* His behaviour during the junction of the two courts of Catherine de Medicis and the king of Navarre, 63. He is in danger at the reduction of Cahors, 65. and before Marmande. He defends Monsegur, 73. Is made counsellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary to Henry, 75. His motives for going with Monsieur into Flanders : conversation between Henry and him upon this journey, 77. He entertains several gentlemen in his train, 81. What befel him at Cambray, 84. Robeck returns his civilities with rudeness, *ibid.* Monsieur refuses to give him his interest with respect to his succession to the estate of the viscount de Gand, which occasions a coolness between that prince and him, 85, 86. Advice given him by the prince of Orange, of the treachery of Antwerp, 87. He returns to Monsieur : observations upon the duties of a prince, 89. His reception from madame de Mastin, *ib.* Honours paid him by the burgeses of Bethune, 91. He returns into France : his reception from Henry : he goes to the court of Henry III. to acquaint that prince with the proposals made by Spain to the king of Navarre, 92. He goes to visit Monsieur at Chateau-Thierry out of curiosity, 93. Sully continues at court to observe the motions of the League : he finds his brothers out of favour there, 94. Falls in love with mademoiselle de Saint-Mesmin, 95. and marries mademoiselle de Courtenay, 97. His domestic employments during the first year of his marriage, *ibid.* He returns to the king of Navarre, and carries him a supply of money, 98. He receives the duke of Joyeuse at Rosny, 99. He gives good council to the protestants in the assembly, 103. Returns to Paris, and commences a negociation there, 105. He goes to Guyenne; dangers to which he is exposed in this journey, 109. The king of Navarre, by his advice, makes head against three armies in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, 114. He throws himself into Saint-Bazille, 116. Is deputed to Saint-Maur to Henry III. to negociate a union of the two kings, 119. He treats likewise with the Swiss; and for the use of the foreign troops in France, 121. He is present at the siege of Talmont, 123. and at that of Fontenay :

I N D E X.

a comical adventure which happened to him during the siege, *ibid.* He goes to his wife during the plague at Rosny, 127. Reflections upon the meekness of Henry III. 128. He penetrates into the designs of Catherine de Medicis, 130. Defeats a squadron belonging to Joyeuse, 132. and takes advantage of his absence to harraß his troops: services which he does his brother, 35. He goes to Paris to the assistance of madame de Rosny: dangers to which he is exposed there, 137. He returns to the king of Navarre, and serves him in the battle of Coutras, 143. Anecdote on this subject, *ibid.* His wife advice after this battle, 147. Sully is deputed to the prince of Conti, 149. Returns to Bergerac, 150. Reflections upon the action of the Barricadoes, and the conduct of Henry III. 151. He accompanies the count of Soissons to court, 154. His conversation with Henry III. 155. Reflections upon the weakness of that prince, 159. He comes to make his report to the king of Navarre, and goes back again to conclude the treaty between the two kings, 160. His indisposition: Du-Plessis Mornay deprives him of the honour of concluding this treaty: his discontent, 163. His advice to Henry IV. upon his interview with Henry III. 164. He helps to defend Tours, 165. The part he has in the battle of Saveuse, 167. He goes to the assistance of his wife: his excessive grief for her death, 169. He returns to the army of the two kings, where he exposes himself to the greatest dangers, 171. Henry IV. tells him that Henry III. was wounded, and takes him with him to Saint Cloud, 172. He asks Sully's advice upon the death of this prince, 173. Services which he does to Henry IV. by retaining the leaders of the royalist army, 176. He seizes Meulan, *ibid.* the government of which is denied him, *ibid.* Fails in his attempt upon Louviers for want of succours, 178. Goes to reconnoitre the duke of Maienne's army, 180. Present at the battle of Arques, where he is in danger, 181. Fails in his attempt upon Vernon, 185. Storms the suburbs of Saint-Germain, 186. Preserves the country of Mante, against the troops of the League, 188. His motives for writing his memoirs, 189. He contributes towards raising the siege of Meulan, 190. Defends Passy. Present at the battle of Ivry, wounded there, and takes several prisoners, 196. D'Andelot disputes them with him, 199. Sully is carried in triumph to Rosny: Henry IV. caresses him and makes him a knight, 201. Sully

I N D E X.

Sully is discontented, on account of being denied the government he asked for, 206. He is present at the siege of Paris, 207. and at the operations after the raising of this siege, 213. He retires in disgust, 214. He saves the life of Clermont-Tonnerre at Joigny, *ibid.* His adventure at Chartres, where he narrowly escapes being slain, 217. Receives a letter from Henry IV. from Saint-Quentin, 219. This prince begins to trust him with his secrets: Henry is the cause of an enterprise failing which he had projected at Mante against the duke of Maienne, 220. He visits madame Châteaupers, 226. Seizes a boat richly laden, 227. Attends Henry IV. to the siege of Rouen, *ibid.* Opposes Biron's opinion concerning the manner of attacking the place, 229. Is present at the attack of the trenches, 231. Makes remonstrances to the king, upon the dangers to which he exposes his life, 233. Conversation between them, concerning the mutinies of the catholics in his army, 234. He endeavours to procure the surrender of Rouen, by a correspondence within, 235. He goes with Henry IV. to meet the prince of Parma, *ibid.* The remonstrances he makes him upon the dangers to which he exposes his life, 238. He complains of the duke of Nevers's conduct at Bully, 239. Is present in the battle of Aumale, 240. and at all expeditions in the neighbourhood of Rouen, 250. He declares himself for pursuing the Prince of Parma, after his passage over the Seine, 256. He marries madame de Chateaupers, 276. Sully retires to his seat in disgust, *ibid.* The president Seguier undeceives him, 279. He intercepts some papers belonging to the League and the third party; subject of them, 280. He carries them to Henry IV. 285. The confidence this prince places in him upon this occasion, 287. Motives which oblige him to conceal this confidence, 288. Conversation between them, and Sully's arguments to induce Henry to change his religion, 291. The true sentiments of this minister upon religion, 294. He prevails upon the protestants to treat with the heads of the catholics upon this subject, 296. His conversations and negotiations with Bellozane, 297. with the Durets, 299. and with Du Perron, 301. The part he has in the reduction of Dreux, 325. His confession in favour of the catholic religion, 327. He votes contrary to the inclinations of the protestants in their assemblies, 330. His answer to Du Perron, who exhorted him to change his religion,

INDEX.

331. The last service he does Henry IV. in the affair of his abjuration, 332. He procures a second truce for the Parlians: and presents a Spanish envoy to the king, 336. He opposes the deputation of La Varenne to Spain, 339. Jealousy of the catholics, 342. He commences a negociation with admiral Villars, Medavy, &c. 343. His first journey to Rouen on this occasion, 347. He reconciles the duke of Montpensier and the count of Soissons, 352. and withdraws the contract of marriage between the princess and the count, 353. He treats with the duchess of Aumale for her husband's surrender, 359. with Medavy, 361. with admiral Villars, 362. Difficulty in concluding this last treaty, 363. Which is done at length, 364. Sully returns to Rouen, and receives in the king's name the homage of Villars and the city of Rouen, 379. A pleasant adventure which happened to him with Boisrose, 385. His delicacy with regard to the gratuities and presents bestowed on him by his majesty, 386. He serves in the siege of Laon, 393. The affairs of the government oblige him to return to Paris: his conversation with the cardinal of Bourbon, 394. He discovers the designs of the seditious party, 397. and suppresses the process of the jesuits against the university, 399. He returns to Laon to give an account of his proceedings to the king, 401. Assists in defeating the great convoy, 402. Is employed to discover Biron's designs, 408. Gives notice of the approach of the Spanish army, 411. Other services performed by him upon this occasion. Henry sends him to Rouen, ii. 1. and afterwards to Sedan: motives of this journey, 3. His conversation with Bouillon, 4. In which he discovers his character, and the aim of his policy, 8. And gives an account of it to the king, 10. The affairs of the state again oblige him to return to Paris, 14. He is employed in the treaty with the duke of Guise, 19. Which he concludes: his apology for this treaty, and his accusations of the duke d'Epemon, 20, 28. His sentiments concerning the abuses in the finances, 32. His quarrels with the duke of Nevers oblige him to quit the council of finances: he is made secretary of state, 36. Sully opposes the declaration of war with Spain, 38. Is near Henry at the time of his being wounded by Chatel, *ibid.* Returns to the council, from whence the bad conduct of the counsellors oblige him to retire, 42. His dispute with the officers of the count of Soissons,

I N D E X.

43. Henry IV. at his return from Franche Comté, comes to confer with him at Moret, 58. The conduct of d'Ossat with respect to Sully's accusations examined, 59—61. Another conversation between Henry and Sully upon the disasters which happened in Picardy, 66. He refuses to go with Bouillon to London; and discovers the snares laid for him by the council, 69. He goes to Paris to provide for the subsistence of the troops during the siege of La-Fere, 71. Contradicts those who were of opinion that this fortress might be laid under water, 72. He goes to Amiens to attend the king: a comical adventure which happened to him with an astrologer: the fair Gabriella in great danger upon the road, 77. He is deputed to Rouen to the duke of Montpenfier, 82. Afterwards to the princess, to break off her marriage with the count of Soissons: conversations which he has with this princess, whose resentment had like to have occasioned his disgrace, 85. Henry IV. does him justice, 95. He is likewise restored to the favour of the princess, 97. Who confides entirely in him, *ibid.* Opposition made by the financiers to his entering the council, 100. and the king's resolution thereon: he is at length received into the council, 105. He takes a journey into the districts: the design and effects of this journey, 108. Calumnies against Sully oblige Henry to recal him, 111. The kind behaviour of this prince to him at his return, 112. His quarrels with Sancy, 113. In what manner he discovered the frauds of the council of finances, 117. Sully's reflections upon the general states of the kingdom, 120. Others upon imposts and government, 126. The wise council he gives the king in the assembly des notables, and the result of it, 128. His labours in the finances, 134. He comforts Henry for the loss of Amiens, 140. and contrives the means of retaking it, 142. Which he communicates to the king, 143. and the king to the council, 144. He is made head of the council during this expedition, and makes himself be obeyed, 146. His great application to every thing that might contribute to the success of the siege of Amiens, 149. and in disconcerting the cabals of the protestants during it, 151, 152. Henry's great care and solicitude for the safety of this minister in the dangers to which he exposes himself at Amiens, 151. He promises to give him the post of grand master of the ordnance: which he afterwards bestows upon d'Estrees, 155. He

I N D E X.

He gives him the government of Mante in recompence for it, *ibid.* An account of the letters from Henry IV. to Sully, 159. He opposes the besieging of Dourlens, 162. The freedom with which he reproves Henry for his indulgence to the duke of Mercœur, 169. His stay at Rennes: the present made him by that town: his wise regulations there to pacify Brittany, 171. He prevails upon Henry to make peace, 178. A curious conversation between them: in which Sully shews Henry the necessity of his marrying again; and dissuades him from the design he had entertained of marrying his mistress, 183, 190. Sully prepares Margaret de Valois for the dissolution of her marriage, 192. and returns to Paris, 193. The share he has in the several regulations in the government, 199. He endeavours in vain to break off the conference at Boulogne, 201. He traverses the schemes of madame de Beaufort to make herself queen, 204. Henry listens to his arguments, and supports him against his mistress: with whom he reconciles him, 206. He visits the king when he lay ill at Monceaux, 210. Receives the cardinal of Florence at Paris and Saint Germain, 212. Undertakes to make a reformation in the finances, 218. His character: his dispositions: his eulogium, *ibid.* The portrait of a perfect minister, 214. He gives an account of his estates: of his abilities, 218. of his employments, &c. *ibid.* of the distribution of his time, and his daily occupations, 220. Henry IV. makes him his first minister, 221. His great confidence in him, 223. His praise of his good qualities, and his talents, *ibid.* He attends to every part of the government, 224. He prosecutes extortioners, and those who are guilty of any embezzlement, 230. Quarrels in full council with d'Epernon, against whom he is supported by Henry, 231. He takes the management of the farms of the state out of the hands of the nobles and foreigners, and continues firm to all their complaints: a conversation on this subject between him and the constable, 234. Other labours in the finances, 236. Calumnies are spread against him, 242. He accuses d'Ossat of opposing the marriage of the princess Catherine and the duke of Bar, 255. Sully assists at a conference for the conversion of the princess, 257. He prevails upon the protestants to consent that an article in the edict of Nantz should be altered, 263. The superintendance of the finances is established in his favour,

I N D E X.

favour, 265, 268. He is also made superintendant of the fortifications and buildings, and grand surveyor, with a very considerable gratuity, *ibid.* Madame de Beaufort's endeavours to engage him in her interests, but in vain, 273. He is informed of her death, 276. He condoles with Henry IV. who was excessively grieved at it, and comforts him, 280. Sully with great firmness resists the duke of Savoy, who sought to corrupt him, 284. He attends the king to Blois: motives of this journey, 286. Prevails upon Henry to marry again, and endeavours to dispose Margaret of Valois to consent to it, 288. His courage and resolution in tearing, before Henry, the paper which contained the promise of marriage to be given to mademoiselle D'Entragues, 290. He concludes the marriage with the princess of Tuscany, and brings Henry to a resolution in this respect, 291. He takes the guardianship of the prince of Epinoy's children upon himself, 294. He is made grand master of the ordnance, 296. And appointed commissioner for the affair of the marquise of Saluces: his conversation with the duke of Savoy when he came to visit him at the Arsenal, 299. Another conversation on the same subject between him and Des-Alymes, who endeavoured to corrupt him with presents, 301. His firmness in opposing the other commissioners, 303. His council not followed, 305. He is present at the dispute between Du-Plessis and Du-Perron: letters which passed between him and Du-Perron: a bon-mot of his on this subject, 305. Sully prevails upon Henry to march to Savoy, 339. Conversation between him and Bellievre upon this war, 312. The great care he took to secure its success, 313. Biron lays snares for him, and the courtiers raise new obstacles to his designs, 320. He besieges Charbonnières. 321; and takes it, notwithstanding the opposition made by the grandees, &c. 327. He takes likewise the castle of Montmelian: his labours, and the dangers he is in, at this siege, 330. His reception of cardinal Aldobrandini, and his wise counsel to him, 338. He takes Fort Saint Catherine. Goes to Geneva, and re-assures that city, *ibid.* Attends the king to Lyons for the ceremony of his marriage, 343. Embarrassed about continuing the war, 345. He resumes the treaty with cardinal Aldobrandini, and concludes it; purport of this treaty, 347. He receives the king and queen at the Arsenal, 350. He resumes

I N D E X.

the direction of the affairs of the finances and the government, 352. Establishes six *per cent.* in the place of eight *per cent.* 354. Prohibits the currency of foreign money in France, 355. as likewise the use of gold and silver stuffs, 357; and the transportation of the gold and silver specie. Establishes a chamber of justice, but without much effect, 358. Maxims of this minister upon the noblesse, 359. Upon the financiers, and against luxury and unequal alliances, *ibid.* His advice to Henry IV. with regard to the prince of Orange, 362. The other ministers oppose his policy with respect to the house of Austria, 365. Presents made to Sully by the grand signior, 366. He goes to Elizabeth at Dover: the discourse he has with her concerning the great design; the praises he gives to this queen, 370. He regrets the death of the young Châtillon; but dare not use his interest in favour of the family, 375. Henry acquaints him with the birth of the Dauphin, 376: and with the state of his own health, and that of the queen, 377. He refuses to become a security in the affair of the isles, 380. He dissuades the king from purchasing the estates of the count of Soissons, 381. Obtains the embassy to Rome for his brother the count of Béthune, notwithstanding the opposition made by Villeroi and Sillery, 382. Letters from Henry to him upon different subjects, 384. A letter from Sully to Biron; and a conversation in which Sully endeavours to bring him back to his duty, 385. He is commissioned to interrogate La-Fin: letters and conversation between Henry and him upon this subject: his name is mentioned among the conspirators, 393. He takes measures for arresting Biron, and is made governor of the Bastile, 396. An interlude and ball given by him at the Arsenal, *iii.* 1. The wound in his mouth opens afresh, *ibid.* His reception of the foreign princes, 2. He accompanies the king to Blois, *ibid.* Clears the duke of Epernon, and opposes his being arrested: a grand council held upon this occasion: he gives good advice to D'Epemnon, 3, 4. Henry entrusts him with a violent resolution he had taken against the queen and the Italians, from which Sully dissuades him, 11, 12. The precautions he takes with respect to Burgundy; and Biron's resentment against him, 14. His advice to the king concerning the manner of arresting Biron: Sully has a conversation with this marshal, in which he endeavours to recal him to his duty; but

I N D E X.

but in vain, 15. His part in the seizure and imprisonment of Biron and Auvergne, 20. He has them conducted to the Arsenal, 21. Takes measures to prevent Biron's escape, 23. He is brought to a trial, 24. Sully's reasons for refusing to speak to him: Biron's declaration in favour of him, 25. Sully obtains leave that the place of his execution should be changed, 26. He prevails upon many of the conspirators to implore the king's pardon, 28. De-Lux comes to him, and confesses his crime, 29. He prevails upon Henry to take gentle methods, and justifies the constable, 30. A conversation between Henry and him upon his motives for pardoning the count of Auvergne, 32. He interceeds for the prince of Joinville, 36; and endeavours, but in vain, to persuade Bouillon to come to court, 37. A curious conversation between Henry and him, upon the bounds which he proposed to set to his gratuities to him, 41. His discontent at the opposition that prince made to some of his designs; and the precautions he takes against his enemies, 43. His discourse to Sigogne on the affair of the advocates, 45, 46, 48. His severity to the fraudulent financiers, 49. He raises the value of the gold and silver coin, and establishes the reckoning by livres, 50. Reflections upon these operations; and maxims with regard to money, 50, 51, 53. Sully's sentiments of the edict against duelling, 54. He treats with the Swiss ambassadors, 55. He attends Henry to Calais, 56; but not to Metz. He complains of D'Ossat, 67. To whom he refuses the payment of his pension, 69. The king gives him the abbey of Coulon: letters which he wrote to this prince at Metz upon several subjects, 70. Sully removes his apprehensions of the cabals of the seditious, 74. 76. Secret conversations between them, upon the death of Elizabeth, in which Sully's embassy to London is resolved upon, notwithstanding the opposition of the courtiers, 77. The importance of this embassy, for which Sully is authorised by a secret paper from his majesty, 79. He visits Henry when indisposed at Fontainebleau: he receives many marks of friendship and esteem from that prince, 83. Purport of the instructions he received in full council for his embassy, 87. He embarks with his train, 91. Is insulted by the English vice-admiral, 94, 95; and received but indifferently at Dover, 96. The impoliteness of the English to him, *ib.* His reception at Canterbury,

I N D E X

terbury, 98, 99; at Rochester; at London, *ibid.* The hatred shown by the Londoners to the Frenchmen in his train, 101. The order and regularity he causes to be observed in his household: his severity in the affair of Combaut, 105. His observations upon the character of the English; and upon the manner in which the French ought to behave to them, 106. Other observations upon France; upon the European powers; and upon war, 107. State of the court, and of the English government, 108. The difficulties he found in this negotiation, *ib.* Character of the king and queen of England, 110. Sully's first conversation with Cecil: the character and secret designs of this secretary, 112. Another conversation with the deputies of the United Provinces; and the measures which they concert together, *ib.* Another conversation with the Venetian envoy, who informs him of the steps taken by Bouillon with the king of England, 117. Civilities which pass betwixt him and the count of Artemberg, 120. Presents which he receives from James, *ib.* His uneasiness that he cannot present himself to this prince in mourning, 121. An account of what passed at his first audience, 123. His conduct praised by the Londoners, 131. The obstacles he meets with in his negotiation, 132. He penetrates into the designs of the northern courts, 133. His opinion of the pretended proposals, made by Spain to the king of England, against France, 135. He advises Henry to take care and secure his provinces, 140. He has a second audience with James, and a private conversation with this prince, in which he makes him approve of his plan and his arguments in favour of the United Provinces, 141. His conference with the English ministers. Cecil's breach of faith, 148. Sully is invited by the king of England to an entertainment: their discourse at dinner, 153. He has a conference with Barnivelt, 155. Another with the English ministers and the Flemish deputies: the obstinacy of the English: the resolution shewn by Sully in this conference, 156. Sully's third audience of the king of England, in which he has a private conversation with him, and acquaints him with the conduct of his ministers, 163. He explains to him the great design, 165. See *Political Design*. And makes him relish it, 174. The kindness shewn by this prince to Sully, 179. Purport of the form of a treaty concluded by Sully with king James

I N D E X.

James. The fault committed by Henry in not giving him fuller power: the success of this negociation, and praises of it, 180. Dispatches are intercepted, 183. Audience of leave. Civilities and honours paid by king James to Sully: presents made by Sully to the king, the queen, and the lords of the English court, 185. Sully embarks for France: he is in danger during his passage, 188. He goes to Henry at Villers-Coterets: his reception from the king: public conversation upon his embassy, 189. Praises given him by Henry, who takes his part against the count of Soissons, 192. Private conversations between the king and Sully on the same subject, 193. The king of England sends him the treaty signed, with great praises of his conduct, 197. He resumes his labours in the finances, 202. He makes remonstrances to the king upon the abuse of granting too readily a great number of small edicts, 204. Henry supports him against the resentment of the count of Soissons, the marchioness of Verneuil, &c. on this occasion: his steadiness and resolution praised, 205, 209. He receives and treats the king at Rosny: the entertainment is disturbed by an accident, 211. He endeavours to appease the mutiny among the protestants, and to get the doctrine of the Pope's being antichrist, suppressed, 213. He is made governor of Poitou, 214. Opposes the establishment of silk manufactures, 217. Reflections upon this subject; and upon luxury, and upon arts necessary to be cultivated in France, &c. 219. He blames Henry's great expences in gaming, mistresses, &c. 223; and opposes the sending of colonies to Canada: he presents gold and silver medals to their majesties, 226. Sully is employed to settle the claims of the king and the duke of Bar to the effects of the late duchess of Bar, 228. He votes in the council against the return of the jesuits, and dissuades the king from consenting to it, 229; but, to please the king, he afterwards favours that society, 239, 241. He presents a memorial against D'Ossat, and inveighs against the policy of the ministers and courtiers, who were in the interest of Spain, 243. He is the original author of the Political System of Cardinal Richelieu for humbling the house of Austria, 244. He assists in making a discovery of L'Hôte's treasonable practices, 245. His behaviour on this occasion to Villeroi, 249. He composes a memorial concerning a toleration of different religions, 256. Du-Perron and Olivary obtain each a cardinal's hat through

I N D E X.

his influence, 258. A curious conversation between Henry and him, in which the king acquaints him with the uneasiness given him by the queen and the marchioness of Verneuil. Sully's courage and resolution in speaking to the king, who excuses himself to him for the violence of his temper, *ibid.* Sully gives advice to this prince, which he does not follow, 267; but employs him to pacify these troubles. Sully's respectful behaviour to the queen; and the deference shown by that princess to him, 269. He reconciles the king and the queen, who afterwards quarrel again, 272. He endeavours in vain to inspire Henry with a resolution necessary for the occasion; and draws the queen's hatred upon himself, 273. He is ill used by that princess, 276; and forbears to concern himself in her quarrels with the king, for which he is in danger of losing his favour, 277. He makes an attempt to persuade the marchioness of Verneuil to disengage herself from the king, but does not succeed, 278. Reciprocal praises between queen Margaret and Sully, 281. He labours to prevent the cabals of the malecontents, 282; and solicits Henry to shew himself in the provinces, 285. He goes to Poitou, 286. Honours paid him there: the great utility of this journey, 294. Services which he does for D'Epernon, 295. He takes measures for arresting the count of Auvergne, 299. Letters between him and that nobleman, 304. He reproaches the marchioness of Verneuil when he was commissioned to interrogate her, 306. Cannot prevail upon Henry to send her out of the kingdom, 311. An anecdote on this subject, *ibid.* He deposits the king's treasure in the Bastile: a regulation for this purpose, 316. Some fine reflections upon government, and the duty of kings, 318. Methods for raising money, 319. Sully undertakes to prove the rents, 325. Establishes a chamber of justice. Other regulations upon the finances, *ib.* Upon the army: an establishment for disabled soldiers, 328. Causes of the ruin and decay of states, 330. His maxims of government too austere, *ibid.* He begins the canal of Briare, 331. Opposes the edict for thirty *per cent*, and afterwards repairs this fault by a treaty of commerce with Spain, 332. He obliges Villeroi and Sillery to sign the treaty of commerce, 338: and secretly favours the Flemings, 340. The king of England acts contrary to the treaty passed with him, 341. Sully's advice to Henry against the Spanish

I N D E X.

Spanish policy, 348. His sentiments concerning the Salic law, and the alliances of the house of France, 349. He discloses Henry's great schemes to cardinal Bufalo, 352. Supports the Grisons against Spain, in the affair of La-Valteline, 356. Puts the king in possession of his rights with regard to the bridge of Avignon, 358. Dissuades him from purchasing the earldom of St. Paul, 360; and endeavours to hinder him from erecting buildings for his manufactures; and from encouraging too great a number of religious orders, 362. Disapproves of the pardon granted by this prince to D'Entragues and D'Auvergne, 365. Refuses to concern himself in this affair with the marchioness of Verneuil, 367; and endeavours to appease the queen, 369. He opposes the demolition of the pyramid: he is hated by the jesuits and the courtiers, who plot against him, 370. A great quarrel between him and father Cotton, on account of the college of Poitiers, 372. Clears himself, 375; and is reconciled to father Cotton, 378. He is concerned with D'Epernon and Grillon in a dispute relating to the post of colonel of the guards, in which he runs the danger of being disgraced; a particular account of this incident, 380. The courtiers and jesuits enter into a combination to ruin him, 385. Letters between Henry and him, and the service which he receives on this occasion from the house of Lorraine, 390. Henry repents of his procedure with regard to this minister, 394. A long and interesting conversation between them, in which they are reconciled, 395. The artifices of his enemies: their libels against him, 398. Sully convicts them of calumny, 404. Henry punishes his enemies, and loads him with caresses in the presence of the courtiers, 408. He puts an end to the dispute concerning the post of the colonel of the guards, to the satisfaction of the king, 409. He quarrels, and is again reconciled with this prince, *ibid.* Different judgments concerning this conduct, *ibid.* He marries his daughter to the duke of Rohan, 411. and his wife's daughter to La-Boulaye: Presents made by Henry to the new married ladies: favours granted and refused by him to Sully, 401. He endeavours to provide a marriage between the marquiss of Cœuvres and Mademoiselle de Melun, but does not succeed, 414. His labours in the finances, *iv.* 1. Reflections upon the Taille and Gabelle, 2. The debts of the state discharged, and plenty and good order re-

I N D E X.

stored to the kingdom: praises of Sully on these accounts, 8. Letters between him and cardinal Du-Perron: cardinal Bufalo's friendship: he is held in great esteem in the court of Rome, 9. Paul V. writes a complimentary letter to him: his answer, 18. Services done by him for Du-Perron, 21. His opinion of Spinola's arrival at Paris, 22. Letters between the king of England and Sully, 23. Henry trusts him with a secret of great importance, 25. His reply to this prince, who proposed to him as a question, whether he ought to get himself declared emperor, 26. Sully removes Henry's apprehensions concerning the designs of the protestants assembled at Châtelleraut, and is appointed to go thither to act for the king, 29. Purport of the public instructions he received on that occasion, 33. and of his secret and particular instructions, 39. He visits queen Margaret: information which she gives him: his opinion concerning these several informations contrary to that of Henry, 40. Measures taken by Bouillon against him in the assembly of Châtelleraut, 44. His first speech to the assembly concerning the principal points upon which they were convened, 48. He refuses to be made president of the assembly, 52. and penetrates into the designs of the protestant chiefs: disconcerts them, and frees Henry from his fears, 58. He terminates the dispute concerning the deputies general, to the satisfaction of Henry, 63; and that relating to the towns of security, 67. His advice with respect to the affair of Orange and Blacons not followed, 69. He dismisses the assembly, and returns to give an account of his conduct to the king, 74. whom he advises to take a journey into Limosin and Auvergne, 77. He attends the king in this journey: holds the chamber des grand jours there, and causes the malecontents to be punished, 79. Theodore de Beze dedicates his book to him, 84. He quarrels with the count of Soissons, on occasion of the quarters assigned to him as grand master of the ordnance, 86; and with d'Epemon, on account of Rochelle, 89. A bon-mot of his concerning the king's first physician, 90. Queen Margaret asks his advice concerning her journey to Paris, 91. Memorial upon the customs, and several forms of duels: an adventure which gave occasion for it, and his advice to Henry upon this subject, 100. A conversation between the king, queen, and Sully, on his presenting medals to them: a method proposed by him to put an end

I N D E X.

end to their disputes, 102. New-year's gifts from their majesties to him, 110. Another conversation between the king and him upon the means of humbling the house of Austria, 112. He is made duke and peer: ceremony of his reception in parliament, 113. He confirms Henry in the design of besieging Sedan, notwithstanding the opposition made by the courtiers, 115. An uncommon circumstance with regard to the wound in his neck and mouth, 117. His letters to Bouillon, and the answers to them, 120. Another letter which he wrote to Parabere concerning the enterprises upon Sedan, with a design to have it made public, 125. The duke of Bouillon's hatred to him, 128. Letters which he received from Henry during this expedition, 131. His complaints against Villeroi, for making a mystery to him of the treaty with Bouillon; Henry's motives for this conduct, 135. His reception of that prince, *ibid.* He visits Sedan, *ibid.* He cannot prevail upon Henry to turn his arms against the earldom of St. Paul, 138. and endeavours to dissuade him from making a public entry into Paris, 140. He gives good advice to the Venetians, upon their difference with Paul V. reflections upon the true policy of these two powers, 141. Does some services to the cardinal Barbarini and Du-Perron, 143. He supports the city of Metz against the jesuits, 145. Quarrels with Father Cotton in the affair of Adrienne de Fresne, 146. Sully pacifies the quarrels between the catholics and protestants on account of religion, 151. and restores the duke of Rohan to the king's favour, 153. He is made captain-lieutenant of the queen's company of Gendarmes: other gratuities bestowed upon him by his majesty, 157. Regulations on the finances, *ibid.* Friendship between him and the duchess of Guise, 163. Conversation on several subjects between the king and him in the presence of the courtiers, *ibid.* He gives Henry the abstracts of the general accounts, 168. His advice to the king concerning the war of Flanders, 171. The wound in his mouth again opens, and the other ministers do business with him at his house, 175. Henry's letters to him upon the birth of a second son of France: upon his children and the chase, &c. 177. His great confidence in him. He suppresses the prosecution upon account of the murder of his nephew Epinoy, 180. Henry IV. disgusted with him, but soon after reconciled, 181.

I N D E X.

181. Maxims upon the manner in which a prince ought to live with his ministers, 183. Sully represents to the protestants assembled at Rochelle his majesty's complaints against them, 184. He supports this city in the affair of Peter Seguiran, 188. but refuses to interfere in the dispute of the jesuits with the inhabitants of Poitiers, 190. Conversation with Henry IV. upon the intrigues of the Spaniards at court, 191. He satisfies the king upon this head, and justifies the house of Lorraine, 194. He enquires into the capture made by Grammont, 197. He induces Henry to refuse the offer made by the United Provinces of submitting to the dominion of France, 199. His opinion of the treaty concluded between Spain and Holland, 203. Presents made by him in Italy for the king, 209. Briefs sent him by Paul V. and his answer to this pope, 211. Operations in the finances: debts discharged, 212. Improves the estates ceded by queen Margaret to the dauphin, *ibid.* Reprimands the parliaments of Toulouse and Dijon, 213. Establishes orders in the chamber of accounts, 215. In the Gabelle and the Maréchaussées, 216. in the Domaine, 218. His scheme for composing a council of the army, robe, &c. rejected by Henry, 221. He opposes the establishment of a chamber of justice, 224. Warns the king of his enemies, *ibid.* Regulations for the artillery, &c. 225. He condemns his majesty's excessive expences in manufactories, buildings, and furniture, 230. Henry's letters, to him upon his domestic quarrels, 232. Theatrical entertainments exhibited at the Arsenal, 236. A comical adventure between him and Pimentel, 237. Calumniated by his enemies, 238. His son married to mademoiselle de Crequy, 239. which is productive of uneasiness to him, *ibid.* He is offered the post of constable, &c. which he refuses, 241. Means employed by the protestants to prevent his accepting of them, 243. He is supported by Henry against his enemies, 246. His caution in mentioning the foibles of this prince, 247. His conversation with Henry on the queen, the marchioness of Verneuil, &c. he endeavours to make up the quarrels, 249. Henry's obliging letter to him on the birth of his son, 258. Employed by Henry in the affair of Joinville and the marchioness of Verneuil, 260. as likewise in that of Sommerive with the countess of Moret, 264. In the assassination of Balagny of Eguillon, and several other quarrels amongst
the

I N D E X.

the courtiers, 269. In the marriage of M. de Vendome with mademoiselle Mercœur, 271. He opposes the violent counsels against the protestants, 273. and concludes the assembly at Gergeau to the satisfaction of his majesty, 276. Henry's letter to him upon his health and that of his children, 279. His generosity to the family of Miron, 282. Builds La-Place-Dauphine, and the bridge of Rouen, 284. He complains of Henry's extravagance at play, 285. Devastation made by an inundation of the Loire. 286. Grants made him by the king, 287. Orders plans to be taken of the coasts of France, and a restitution of the usurpations made by Spain and Lorrain, 288. Regulations in the finances, 290. Exhorts Henry to be present at the consultations of his ministers, 291. Memoirs and reflections upon the taille, imposts, and the different forms of our government: his opinion of several of our kings, 292. He receives the compliments of foreign princes, 295. Henry follows his advice upon the accommodation between the Spaniards and Dutch, 296. Medals and memorials presented by him to Henry, 307. Different opinions of him, 309. His dispute with Villeroi, 310. entertains his majesty at the arsenal, *ibid.* Disputes betwixt him and father Cotton, occasioned by an imprudent letter wrote by that father: their hatred of one another, 314. Henry imparts to him his disquietudes: a long conversation between them on the public news, 321. upon this prince's love for the princess of Condé, 322. upon the plots against his life by the queen's family. *ibid.* Sully's opinion of these plots, and his wife advice to the king, 330. He hastens the execution of the grand design, 333. Obtains the permission of entering the Louvre in his coach, 334. Henry and he employ themselves in composing the cabinet of state, 336. &c. His conversation with the king on the different ways of raising money, 339. Edict for establishing the droit annuel, and different opinions about this tax, 340. Other regulations of this minister against luxury, chicanery, &c. 344. &c. Conversations betwixt him and Henry upon this subject, and the opposition of the ministers, 348. Henry's character of Sully, 352. Operations in the finances, 355. He reproaches Henry on his great expences, 356. Edict against fraudulent bankrupts and duels, 359. Intrigues of the court upon account of the children of France, 360. Letters of the prince of Condé: letters and counsels of Sully upon this

I N D E X.

this occasion, as well to the prince of Conde as to Henry, 361. He clears du Pleffis Mornay, and other protestants, of false informations against them, 378. Informations given him upon the conspiracy at La-Fleche, 380. His obligation to Henry upon account of his nephew Epinoy, 382. The great esteem he is in with foreign princes, 388. The alliance of his house with that of Austria: his spirited conversation with the Florentine envoy, 391. His reproof to De Refuge: memoirs, and other details on the succession of Cleves: conversation between Henry and him upon the means of humbling the house of Austria, 406, &c. The courtiers inspire Henry with suspicions against him, 416. Negotiations with the princes of Europe, and other preparations for the grand design, 419. See *Cleves, Political Design*. The liberty he took of pulling Henry, who spoke inconsiderately of this affair, 422. Henry's conversation with him upon his presages of his approaching death, 434, &c. Sully endeavours to persuade the queen to delay her coronation, but ineffectual, 436. Schomberg informs him of a conspiracy, &c. 437. See *Coman's conspiracy*. He is indisposed at the arsenal: where the king sends La Varenne to him, 444. He receives the first account of this prince's assassination there: his behaviour and speeches upon that occasion, 445. His complaints against the author of this murder, and upon the negligence with which he is guarded, v. 1, &c. A sketch of the character, and of the good and bad qualities of this prince, 7. Sully's reasons for not going to the Louvre: examination of his conduct upon this occasion 9. He at last goes: his reception from the king and queen-mother, 14. The hatred and plots of the courtiers against him, 17. He assists at the ceremony of a bed of justice, *ibid*. His complaints of the court and council of the queen regent, 18. He is no more regarded, and resolves to withdraw himself: his family and friends oppose his giving up his employments, 22. The count of Soissons seeks his friendship, and afterwards becomes his enemy, 25. Other subjects of complaint betwixt this prince and him, 27. His opinion with regard to Cleves not followed, 30. His advice to the count of Bethune, ambassador at Rome, 33. His advice with regard to the duke of Savoy, and the other allies of the crown, not followed, 34. He again resolves to deliver up his posts, and is again hindered by his family,

I N D E X.

family, 37. Conchini behaves with great unpoliteness to him, 38. He is reconciled with the prince of Conde: goes to meet him, and attends him in the Louvre, 45. Counsels which he gives him; notwithstanding which he joins with his enemies, 50. He opposes the council in the affair of Cleves, but is not regarded, 54. He opposes the grants promised to the duke of Bouillon, 60. As likewise those to Conchini and the count of Soissons, 60. Refuses to sign a comptant sent him by the queen regent, *ibid.* Blames Sillery and Conchini, 63. His dispute in full council with Bouillon, 64. Those who side with him, 65. He retires to Montrond during the coronation of Lewis XIII. and there falls sick, 67. Motives which induced the queen to recall him, and the reception he meets with, 72. Visits the children of France: His judgment of them, 74. Conchini visits him: prejudices the queen against him, 75. His indignation of the proposal made to the council, 79. His reproofs to the queen regent, 82. He opposes Villeroy and Alincourt in full council, upon the affair of Lyons, 83. Eulogium of his boldness and honesty, 84. He gives up his post of superintendant and captain of the Bastile, 86. His titles, *ib.* Brevets and recompences which he receives, 90. His advice to his secretaries, 91. Honours paid him upon his quitting Paris, 95. He prevents the cabals of his enemies at court: letters betwixt him and the queen regent on this occasion, 96. The king gives him a brevet for the augmentation of his pension, 99. He gives a particular account of his estate, and the improvements he made in it, with the provision he makes for his children, &c. 100. His disputes with the prince of Conde, who endeavours to have his estate confiscated, 108. The fidelity with which he observes his engagements with Henry the Great, 110. His share in the grand design. See *Political Design*. The assembly of protestants at Chatelleraut support his interest against Bouillon and his enemies, 162. The part he takes in the affair of Saint John d'Angely, 164. and in the revolt of the princes: the reliance of the king on this occasion, and his advice to the queen regent, *ibid.* Other services in the war against the protestants: recompenced with a marshal's staff, 171. State of his family, and his disquietude upon account of the marquis of Rosny, and the prince of Henrichemont, 172, &c. His death, 175. Honours paid to him by the duchess of Sully: his mausoleum:

I N D E X.

- soleum: his epitaph, 175. His residence at Villebon: at Sully, &c. State and government of his house: the employment of his time, &c. 177, &c. His buildings, 184, &c. See the names mentioned in this article.
- Sully*. (Duchess of) Rachel de Cochefilet. Sully asks her in marriage, i. 226. Married to him, 276. She is beloved by the princess Catherine, 331. The financiers endeavour to gain her by presents, ii. 147. Her conversation with the duchess of Beaufort. She gives a ball at Chambéry, 319. She exerts herself with madame de Brandis for the surrender of the castle of Montmelian, 336. Her return to Paris, 345. She goes to Baugy, 362. Delivered of a son at the moment of marshal Biron's arrival at the Bastile, iii. 20. Presents she receives from their majesties, 227. Gives the queen good counsel with regard to Conchini, iv. 255. Henry IV. compliments her upon the birth of her son, 258. Sully informs her of the disposition of the queen regent, and of the council to him after the death of Henry IV. v. 35. She opposes his giving up his posts, 37. The queen regent employs her to engage her husband to return from Montrond. The sum she brought Sully at her marriage, 103. She excuses her husband to the queen regent, 169. The mausoleum she causes to be built for him, 175. Her life and domestic occupations, 183, &c.
- Sulzbach*. (Counts of) Right of these princes to the duchy of Juliers, v. 56.
- Sultana*. Mother of Mahomet III. driven from Constantinople by the janisaries, iii. 102.
- Sun*. (Eclipse of) iv. 84.
- Superintendent of the finances*. Suppressed by Henry IV. ii. 32. Established again in favour of Sully, 266. A general state of this employment presented to the king, iv. 163.
- Superintendent of the fortifications and buildings*. Given to Sully, ii. 268. He presents a general state of this office, 276. He gives up this employment. v. 86.
- Superintendent of mines*. Given to the duke of Bellegarde, iii. 51.
- Superintendent of the finances*. D'O. Sully. See these names.
- Surenne*. A conference at this place between Henry IV. and the protestants, i. 317.
- Synods of protestants*. They raise a rebellion, ii. 151, 175. Sully forbids them in the king's name to receive deputies

I N D E X:

ties from the factious lords, iv. 53. See *Chatelleraut* (Assembly of). Assembly at Rochelle, 151. See *Gap*, *Rochelle*, *Protestants*.

T.

- Taille.** Sully's labours in this part of the revenue, ii. 238. Part of it is remitted to the people: abuse and vexations, iv. 2. Reflections upon them, and upon the means of remedying them, *ibid.* Regulations upon the taille, 290. Brevet of the taille expediated in full council, 291. Faults in this respect rectified, 292. Origin and changes of the taille in this kingdom, 293.
- Talamone.** Usurped by Spain, iii. 271.
- Talan.** The troops of the League are driven out of this castle by Henry IV. ii. 51.
- Talmont.** Taken by La Tremouille, i. 121. Defended against the League, 128.
- Tambonneau.** (The president) Commissary for proving the rents, iii. 225.
- Tancrede.** The pretended heir to the house of Rohan, iii. 412.
- Tapestry-workers.** (Flemish) Sent for to Paris, iv. 230. See *Manufactures*.
- Tardieu.** A commissary reprimanded by Sully, iv. 216.
- Tarn.** The duke of Joyeuse is drowned there, i. 275. See *Vilemur*, *Joyeuse*.
- Tartas.** A protestant town, iv. 277.
- Tassone.** (Octavio.) Agent for the duke of Savoy in the treaty of Lyons, ii. 349.
- Tavannes.** (Gaspard de Saulx de) One of the counsellors of Catherine de Medicis: his character.
- Tavannes.** (John de Saulx, viscount de) Is defeated and taken prisoner at Noyon, i. 219. Driven from Dijon by the king's forces, ii. 51.
- Taxis.** (John) Count of Villamediana, ambassador from Spain to England, iii. 128.
- Taxis.** (John Baptist, count of) One of the Spanish plenipotentiaries to the states of Paris: his plots unsuccessful: faults which he commits there. i. 310. The offers made to him by Henry IV. after his abjuration rejected, 335. See *Spain*, *League*.
- Teillo.** (Hernando) See *Portocarrero*.
- Teligny.** (Charles de) Son-in-law to admiral Coligny: deputed to Charles IX. by the huguenots, i. 15. Slain in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 32.

Tende.

INDEX.

- Tendé.** (Claude de Savoy, count of) Refuses to obey the orders of Charles IX. to massacre the protestants, i. 38.
- Terrail.** (Du) Commands the light horse in the army of the League at the battle of Ivry, i. 226. Goes with Sully to London, ii. 105. Enters into the service of the archduke: takes Bergen-op-zoom, and loses it again, iv. 23. Fails in an attempt upon Sluys, 266. Endeavours to surprise Geneva: is taken there, and beheaded, 388.
- Terra-nuovo.** (Duke of) Assists the League against the Lyonnois, i. 390.
- Terse.** A Spanish company, iii. 327.
- Tesin.** The scheme of turning this river fatal to France, ii. 72.
- Themins.** (Pons de Lausieres de Cardaillac de) Defends Villemur, and defeats the forces of the League there, i. 271. Solicits for Biron's pardon, iii. 16. Does the king good service against the rebels, iv. 58.
- Thermes.** (John de Saint Larry de) One of Henry III.'s favourites, ii. 15.
- Thermes.** (Paul de La-Barthe de) Defeated at Gravelines, i. 12.
- Third party.** Names of those that compose it: they are accused of endeavouring to get rid both of Henry IV. and of the duke of Maienne, i. 285, 287.
- Thore.** (William de Montmorency de) Fails in his attempt to take possession of the bridge of Saint Maixence for Henry IV. i. 181.
- Thores.** A Spanish colonel. Slain at the siege of Rhimberg, iii. 327.
- Thou.** (James-Augustus De) President. A conversation between him and Montagne, upon the characters of Henry IV. and the duke of Guise, i. 104. Consulted by Henry IV. upon his conversion, 288. Employed in composing the edict of Nantz, ii. 181. Inserts an article in it which he was obliged to suppress: his sentiments with regard to religion suspected, 263. He votes in the council against the repeal of the jesuits banishment, iii. 238. His letter to the prince of Conde after his flight, iv. 273.
- Thou.** (Nicolas De-) Crowns Henry IV. at Chartres, i. 351.
- Thouars.** Sully goes there to visit La-Tremouille, iii. 294.
- Thurin.** (Philebert de) Draws up the process against marshal Biron, iii. 294.
- Tignonville.** (Mademoiselle de) Beloved by Henry IV. i. 53.
- Tilenus*

I N D E X.

- Tilenus.* A protestant minister: his dispute with Du-Val, ii. 257. His opposition to the expedition against Sedan, iii. 274.
- Tilly.* A gentleman attached to Sully. Wounded at the encounter at Chartres, i. 217.
- Tiron.* (Philip Des-Portes, abbot of) Employed in Villars's treaty with Henry IV. i. 371. Gratuities which he received from this prince, 268.
- Tiron.* (Count of) Commands the rebels in Ireland; defeated there, ii. 397.
- Toleration* for religion advised by Sully, iii. 256.
- Tonneins.* A skirmish before this city, i. 78.
- Tonnerre.* (Francis Henry, count of Clermont) Sully saves his life at Joigny, i. 215.
- Torigny.* (Odet de Matignon, count of) Present at the battle of Ivry, i. 198. He is the cause of the death of La Chataigneraye, in endeavouring to save him, *ibid.* Fights in the battle of Fontaine-François, ii. 53.
- Touchard.* See *Bellezane*.
- Touchet.* (N. du) A protestant gentleman: escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 31.
- Touchet.* (Mary) Mistress to Charles IX. i. 393. ii. 285. Favours the intrigues of Henry IV. with her children, and plots with her husband. See *Entragues*, *Verneuil*.
- Toulon.* The malecontents endeavour to seize upon this city, ii. 392.
- Toulouse.* Its reduction, ii. 73. Sum paid for its treaty, 227. The chamber of requests suppressed by its parliament, iii. 211. Henry IV. disgusted with its parliament, 213. Its ancient counts, vassals to the kings of France, 261.
- Tour.* (Baron of) Sent to France by king James, to notify his accession to the throne of England, iii. 86; 91.
- (John de La-). Betrays the League, and delivers up Louviers to Henry IV. i. 223.
- Touraine.* Cities in this province taken by Henry IV. i. 186, 188.
- Tournelles.* Henry IV. establishes his silk manufactories in the inclosures of this castle, contrary to the advice of Sully, iii. 223.
- Tours.* One of the five cities which continued faithful to Henry III. i. 158. The treaty of Pleffis-les-Tours negotiated by Sully, 159. Concluded by Du-Plessis Mornay, 163. The two kings have a meeting near the city, 165. Duke of Maienne invests it, and

I N D E X.

obliged to retire by the two kings, 167. The duke of Guise escapes from the castle of this city, 171. The first manufactories of rich stuff do not succeed, ii. 296. Henry IV. passes through it in his journey to Auvergne, iv. 82.

Touvery. Sully dangerously wounded at this place, i. 219.

Traineil. One of the queen's household, iii. 11.

Treaties. See each of the following articles: of *Nemours*, *Saint Maur*. Union between Henry III. and Henry IV. Treaty offensive and defensive between France and Lorrain; of *Vervins*; treaties between the chiefs of the League; of *Lyons*, of *Savoy*. See also *Aldobrandin*; treaty of commerce. See *Spain*, *Busalo*, *Sully*; of *Brunswick* and *Vandrelep*; between king James and Sully; of the count of Auvergne with Spain; between Spain and England; treaty of protection of Sedan and Raucourt. See also *Bouillon*. Of a suspension of arms, and a truce between Spain and the United Provinces. See also *Henry IV. Conferences*, &c.

Transylvania. The emperor Rodolphus makes war against that people, ii. 398. iii. 39.

Trape. (La) Valet de chambre to Sully; of great use to him at an attack of Villefranche, i. 50, of Mirande, 63. and at Cahors, 67.

Tremblecourt. (Lewis de Beauveau de) Defeated in endeavouring to succour Noyon, i. 219. His success in Burgundy, ii. 38.

Tremont. One of the general officers of the League at Ivry, i. 66.

Tremouille. (Claude, duke de La-) Takes Talmont, i. 121. Fights at Coutras, where his troops behave ill, 141. Gives bad counsel to the prince of Conde, 144. Has a great share of the victory gained at Fontaine-François, ii. 55. Plots amongst the protestants during the siege of Amiens, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sully, 152. Is sent by Henry IV. to examine into the affair of the true or false Sebastian, 200. Makes an article to be inserted in the edict of Nantz, which is afterwards suppressed, 263. Is suspected of being amongst the seditious, iii. 3. He quits the court, 6. He engages with Bouillon, 73. His intrigues with the king of England, 212. and amongst the protestants against the state, 282. Sully visits him at Thouars, and disconcerts his schemes, 293. His death, 294. Sully purchases from him the lands of Sully.

Triennial.

I N D E X.

Triennial. (Officers) Established, ii. 142. Sully disputes with the council upon this account, 147.

Trigni. An officer in the king's party, i. 394. Present at the defeat of the great convoy before Loan, 406.

Troyes. The jesuits refused an establishment in that city, iii. 371.

Turks and Turkey. They carry on a war in Hungary, ii. 350. The Grand Seignior's embassy to Henry IV. the magnificent titles they give him, 366. Continuation of their war in Hungary, 398. iii. 60. See *Rodolphus*, *Mercœur*, &c. They give succour to the Moors in Spain, iv. 306. Montglat sent ambassador to the court. The grand design, so far as it relates to them, 5. See *Political Design*, *Mahomet III.* *Achmet*, *Constantinople*.

Turenne. (Viscounty of) Seized upon by Henry IV. ii. 210. Bouillon pretends that this viscounty is one of the great fiefs of the crown, 249.

Turenne (Viscount of). See *Bouillon*.

Tyber. A great overflow of this river, i. 243.

V.

V. Aetendonk. The Spaniards driven from this place by the prince of Orange, iii. 72.

Vair. (William Du-) Counsellor of the parliament. His opinion for the hereditary succession of the crown, i. 315.

Vairovodes of Transylvania. Defeated by George Basse, ii. 398.

Vall. (Du-) His dispute at the conference with Tilenus, ii. 257.

Valentia. (The council of) Edict against duels, iv. 96.

Valentia in Spain. An insurrection there, upon account of the expulsion of the Moors, iv. 304.

Valence. (Madame de) One of father Cotton's devotees, iv. 148.

Valentinian II. Emperor of the East. Sully's judgment of him, v. 113.

Valentinian III. Sully's opinion of this emperor, v. 113.

Vallee. (Michael Piquemouche de La-) Lieutenant-general of the ordnance. He reproaches Sully at the siege of Charbonnieres, ii. 324. He conducts the duke of Vendome into Brittany, iv. 272.

Vallon. One of Sully's enemies at court, iii. 398.

Valette. (Bernard de Nogaret de La-) Admiral of France.

I N D E X.

- Particulars of his life, and of his government in Dauphiny: killed at the siege of Roquebrune, i. 270. One of the favourites of Henry III. ii. 15.
- Valette* (John Lewis de Nogaret de La-). See *Epernon*.
- Valois*. Kings and princes of this branch. See the following names, and also France (Kings of).
- Valois*. (Charles de) Count of Auvergne. See *Auvergne*.
- (Francis de). Duke of Anjou. See *Anjou*.
- (Claude de). Daughter of Henry II. married to the duke of Lorraine, i. 13.
- (Margaret of) Queen of France. See *Margaret*.
- Valteline*. The situation of this canton: dispute upon account of it between the Spaniards and Grisons, iii. 353. Sequel of this difference, iv. 207.
- Vendrelep*. (Treaty of) Between England and the United Provinces, iii. 121.
- Verade* (Peter) A jesuit. Involved in the affair of Chatel, ii. 37, 38.
- Varenne*. (William Fouquet de La-) Imprudently sent by Henry IV. to Mandoce, i. 339. Particulars relating to his fortune: a bon-mot upon this subject, 340. Services done by him to the princess Catherine, ii. 90. Henry IV. recommends the duchess of Beaufort to his care, 273. His letters to Henry IV. and to Sully upon the tragical death of this lady, 277. Henry's affection for him, 361. He is employed in arresting the marshal Biron and Auvergne, iii. 21. He presents the jesuits of Verdun to the king at Metz, 67. This prince makes use of him in accommodating matters betwixt Sully and the count of Soissons, 209. He is instrumental in the recal of the jesuits, 231. He is sent by Henry IV. to the marquis of Verneuil, 332. He joins with the courtiers and jesuits to ruin Sully in the affair relating to the post of colonel of the guards, 388. He is deputed by Henry IV. to the queen Margaret, 394. His letters to Sully during the expedition of Sedan, iv. 91, 128. He informs him of the conclusion of the treaty with Bouillon, 132. His services to the jesuits at La-Fleche, 146. A present made him by Henry IV. 161, 181. He supports father Seguiran and the jesuits against the Rochellers, 188, 193. The part he acts in the quarrel amongst the courtiers, 264. His attachment to the jesuits, 317. Gives information to Henry IV. of the plots of the Spaniards against his person, 322, 370. This prince sends him to visit Sully the day he was murdered, 444. His speech to the jesuits

I N D E X.

- jesuits upon the death of this prince, 458. Sent by the queen-mother to Sully, v. 14.
- Vassignac.* See *Bassignac*.
- Vaubrot.* A protestant officer in the army of Henry IV. i. 124.
- Vauclas.* (Andrew de Cuchefelet, earl of) Sent by Sully to the queen of England, iii. 185. Discovers in Spain the plots of the queen's party against the life of Henry IV. and informs him of it, iv. 322.
- Vaucemain.* Sully disposes of to him the abbey of Abbie, v. 105.
- Vaudemont.* (Nicolas of Lorrain de) Henry III. marries his daughter, i. 44.
- Vaudemont.* (Louisa of Lorrain de) queen of France, i. 45.
- Vaudore.* A protestant officer. Present at the battle of Coutras, i. 140.
- Velasque.* (John Ferdinand de) Constable of Castile. Sent ambassador extraordinary from Spain to London, iii. 15. Plots against Henry IV. 194. Employed to conclude the affair of thirty per cent. 335. Concludes, at London, the agreement betwixt Spain and England, 344. Henry IV's reception and conversation with him at Paris, 345.
- Vendome.* Princes of this name. See the following articles, and likewise *Bourbon*.
- (Alexander de Bourbon, chevalier de). See *Bourbon* (Alexander of).
- (Charles de Bourbon, duke of). i. 1.
- (Casar de Bourbon, duke of) Son to Henry IV. and the fair Gabriella. Legitimated, ii. 31. Design of giving him the sovereignty of Franche-Comte, 39. He is made governor of La-Fere, 73. Betrothed to mademoiselle de Mercœur, 169. The duchess of Beaufort solicits at Rome for him, 202. He demands mademoiselle de Melun for the marquis of Cœuvres, but refused him, iii. 414. Sent by Henry IV. to visit queen Margaret, iv. 92. Difficulties in accomplishing his marriage with mademoiselle de Mercœur, iii. 271. He accuses Sully of opposing his legitimation, 360. Henry IV. reconciles him with Sully and Rosny. His apprehensions of the plots against this prince.
- (Catherine-Henrietta) de Bourbon. See *Bourbon* (Catherine-Henrietta de).
- Veneur.* (Tanneguy Le-) Endeavours to save the protestants at Rouen, at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, i. 38.

I N D E X.

Venice. No longer concerned in farming the revenues, ii. 234. The reception and presents made its ambassador, 366. Unites with the Grisons against Spain, iii. 55. See *Valteline*. Sully's conference with the Venetian resident at London, 117. Its advantage in the execution of the great design, 173. See *Political Design*. Their great veneration for a suit of armour given by Henry IV. to their resident, 202. The interest they had in the affair of Valteline, 356. See *Fuentes*. Presents given by Henry IV. to its ambassador, iv. 13. Their famous quarrel with Paul V. The cause of this difference; the wise advice given them by Sully; and the true policy of this state, 141. See *Canayo*. Their union with the Grisons against Spain, 207. Their difference with the Pope terminated by the mediation of Henry IV. 209. Confederacy between France and this republic, 326. They join the deputation sent this prince by the German princes assembled at Hall, 411. See *Cleves*. Bullion named for this embassy, 439. The grand design, so far as it regards this republic. v. 134. The advantages they would have from its execution, 143. The forces and money they were to have contributed, 151.

Ventadour. (Ann de Levis, duke of) Made prisoner before Cambrai, i. 82. His success against the League in Languedoc, ii. 98. He intercedes with Henry IV. for the count of Auvergne, iii. 33. Sully calumniated upon account of his friendship for him, 402. Debts of the king to him discharged, iv. 10. He complains of Sully, 258.

Verac. A protestant gentleman, i. 112.

Verdun. Henry's reception and promises to the jesuits of this city, iii. 67.

Verdun. First president of the parliament of Toulon. Sully writes to him upon the affair of the registers and clerks offices, iv. 213. and upon other regulations, 290.

Vere. (Colonel) The earl of Northumberland gives him a blow upon the face, iii. 196.

Vergius. (Doctor) Confessor to Philip II. ii. 252.

Verneuil. Medavy treats with Sully for the surrender of this city, i. 359, 371. It is delivered to the king, 382.

Verneuil, near Senlis. Henry IV. gives this house to mademoiselle d'Entragues, iii. 56.

Verneuil. (Henry de Bourbon, duke of) iii. 56. The king

INDEX.

king gives him the bishoprick of Metz: the difficulties raised by the Pope upon this occasion, 280. Particulars of his life, iv. 281.

Verneuil. (Catherine Henrietta de Balzac d'Entragues, marchioness of) Mistress of Henry IV. i. 393. The beginning of her amours with this prince, ii. 289. Her character, *ibid*. Her artifice to make him give her a promise of marriage, *ibid*. She follows him to the campaign of Savoy, 309. Is delivered of a dead child, *ibid*. She procures to the count of Auvergne pardon and liberty, iii. 32. Henry gives her the castle of Verneuil, 176. and legitimates the children he had by her. See *Verneuil* (Henry de Bourbon, duke of) Her hatred of Sully, whom Henry supports in opposition to her, 205. Presents which she receives from this prince, 223. Her plots with the malecontents, 260. Her unequal and bad temper, 302. Henry reproaches her in his letters: she haughtily refuses to deliver him his promise of marriage, 265. Her conversation agreeable to the king, 266. The queen's hatred to her, 272. Her great artifice in fomenting quarrels between the king and queen, and endeavours to ruin Sully, 273. The marquis forms a design to get the marriage cancelled between the king and queen: the weakness of this prince for her, 278. He at last obliges her to deliver up the promise of marriage, 298. She is arrested: Sully employed to interrogate her: her reproaches to this minister, and other particulars relating to this incident, 306. Henry will not allow of her quitting France, 309. Anecdotes upon this subject. She makes the king pardon Auvergne and Entragues, and dictates her own conditions, 367. Causes of her hatred to Sully, 399. Other quarrels between the king, queen, and her. iv. 232. Her children by the king, 247. This prince communicates to Sully his uneasiness upon her account, 253. and makes him judge in her intrigue with Joinville, 259. Her son made bishop of Metz, 263. A bon-mot of her's, upon the marriage of the prince of Condé; Coman accuses her of being engaged in the parricide of Ravaillac.

Vernon. The duke of Montpensier fails in his attack upon this city, i. 185.

Verriere. Employed in the conversion of Henry IV. i. 319.

I N D E X.

- Versenay*. One of Sully's enemies, iii. 399. Grants made him by Henry IV. iv. 157.
- Versoris*. Advocate for the jesuits against the university of Paris, i. 399.
- Vervins*. Negotiations for a peace at this city, ii. 171. Concluded, 178. Particulars of the ceremony used upon this occasion: a bon-mot upon the peace, 193.
- Vesou*. Taken by the constable of Castile.
- Vezelay*. A protestant city, i. 2.
- Vezins*. Generously saves the life of Renier his enemy at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, i. 40. Defends Cahors, 66. where he is killed, *ibid*.
- Vic*. (Dominique de) Defeats d'Aumale, and attacks St. Denis, i. 263. Vice-admiral of France, ii. 152. Appointed to treat with the Swiss Ambassadors, iii. 55. 73. His resentment of the affront offered by the vice-admiral of England, 94, 95. Summoned to the council upon recalling the jesuits, 231. Employed in the affair of thirty per cent. 333. Ambassador to the Grisons, 357. Approves of Sully's advice for the expedition to Sedan, iv. 124, 181. Demolishes the fort of Rebury, 207. His schemes for the security of Calais: admitted into the public counsel of the queen regent, v. 21. His death, occasioned by his grief for the loss of Henry IV, *ibid*.
- Vic*. His company defeated by Henry IV. i. 135.
- Vic*. The residence of the count of Auvergne in this house, iii. 302.
- Vienne*. Taken by the constable Montmorency for the league, i. 325.
- Vienne*. (N. de) Admitted into the council of the finances, ii. 31. Gratuities given him by Henry IV. 268, 298. Regulations prescribed to him by Sully, iii. 317. Dissatisfied with Henry's excessive expences for manufactories, iv. 230.
- Vienne*. (De) His counsel the cause of the taking of Bourg, ii. 316.
- Virville*. (La) Sent to the duke of Bouillon upon the affair of Sedan, iv. 125.
- Vigenné*. Expeditions of king Henry IV. upon the borders of this river, ii. 112. See *Fontaine-François*.
- Vignoles*. Distinguishes himself at the head of his regiment at Ivry, i. 199. and at the siege of Laon.
- Villa Mediana*. (The count of) Spanish ambassador at the court of London, ii. 385.

Villandry,

I N D E X.

- Villandry.* Offends Charles IX. admiral Coligny procures his pardon, i. 25.
- Villarnou.* Deputy-general of the protestants, iv. 277.
- Villars.* (Earldom of) The claim that the duke of Savoy had in the cathedral of Lyons contested with Charles-Emmanuel, ii. 299. See *Savoy*, *Charles-Emmanuel* (Duke of).
- Villars.* (Andrew de Brancas) Admiral of France: makes preparations for the defence of Rouen against Henry IV. i. 227. His vigorous defence of this city, 233. 235. Sully endeavours to begin a negociation with him, but does not succeed, 231. See *Font.* (La-). Other great actions of this governor, which obliges Henry to raise the siege, 246. Refuses a challenge from the earl of Essex, 249. The beginning of Sully's negociation with him, 343. Broke off, 347. Resumed, 348. Character of this governor, 349. The conditions of his treaty with the king, 363. His rage against Sully, 367. His elogium, 370. Ceremony observed at the surrender of Rouen, 381. He comes to court: praises upon his disinterestedness and conduct, ii. 38. Commands the king's forces in Picardy, 41. His bravery before Dourlens, 48. He is killed, 49. Examen of his behaviour upon this occasion, *ibid.* See *Bouillon*. Henry's great grief for his death, 58. The sum of money he received for his treaty, 227. Henry IV. discharges a debt due to his family, iv. 10.
- Villars.* (George de Brancas) Chevalier of Oise. See *Oise*.
- Villars.* (Honorat de Savoie, marquis of) Commands the royal army in Guyenne, i. 19, 58.
- Villars.* (Jerôme de) Archbishop of Vienne: Du-Perron and Olivary procure him a cardinal's hat, iii. 258.
- Villars.* (Peter de) Archbishop of Vienne: sent by Henry IV. to the states of Blois, i. 38.
- Villars.* (Julietta Hypolita d'Estrees, marchioness of) Her intrigue with Joinville, iv. 260.
- Villebon.* (Lands and Castle of) Purchased by Sully, v. 104. He makes over these lands to the prince of Condé, *ibid.* Afterwards repurchases them, *ibid.* Sully dies at this castle: his mausoleum there, 175. His manner of living there. Makes great improvements there, 187.
- Villefranche.* In Perigord: taken by assault by the protestants, i. 50.

Villemontég.

I N D E X.

- Villemontée.* Sully borrows money of him upon his being made grand master of the ordnance, 297. Appointed one of the regents by Henry IV.
- Villemur.* Siege of this city, and battle of, in which the duke of Joyeuse is killed, i. 272.
- Villemur.* (Peter Pitte de) Wounds admiral Coligny, i. 28.
- Villeneuve.* Taken by the catholics, i. 61.
- Villepion.* Turenne takes possession of this place for Henry IV. iv. 81.
- Villequier.* (René de) Dissuades Henry II. from ordering the duke of Guise to be assassinated the day of the barricades, i. 151, 152. One of the favourites of this prince, ii. 15.
- Villequier.* (Charlotte Catherine de) Wife of the superintendant D'O. ii. 16.
- Villeroi.* (Nicolas de Neufville de) Minister of state: he makes proposals from the league to Henry IV. i. 262. One of the chief of the third party, 285. His real sentiments of the league, of Spain, and of Henry IV. 296. Other conditions offered by him to Henry IV. from the league, 305. Rejected, 307. Accused of making the heads of the league take an oath against this prince, 320. Justified, *ibid.* His treaty with the king, 379. Justified from the reproaches thrown upon him by Sully, *ibid.* A bon mot of Henry IV. upon him, *ib.* He opposes Sully's entrance into the council of the finances, ii. 102. Disappointed of being made grand master of the ordnance, 155. Endeavours to procure a treaty with the protestants, 165. Defends Picardie, 166. Advises Henry IV. against marrying again, 191. Manages foreign affairs, 221. The sum he received for his treaty, 227. One of the commissioners for the marriage of Henry IV. with Mary of Medicis, 293. and for the marquissate of Saluces, 301. Opposes Sully during the campaign of Savoy, 329. Commissioner for the treaty of Lyons, 342. His policy with regard to the house of Austria different from that of Henry IV. and Sully: he defends the treaty made by d'Offat with the grand duke of Tuscany for the isles of If, 380. Opposes the embassy of the count of Bethune to Rome, 381. Receives the depositions and examines the papers of La-Fin, 394, 396. Summoned to the secret council held at Blois, for arresting the heads of the seditious, iii. 7. Attends the king to Metz, 64. His solicitations for the jesuits, and connections

I N D E X.

nections with Ossat, condemned by Sully, 68. Summoned to the council in which Sully receives his instructions for his embassy to London, 86. Sully's suspicions of his clerk, upon occasion of some of his dispatches being lost, 183. Solicits the recal of the jesuits, 184. Treachery of Nicolas L'Hote his clerk; examination and justification of him upon this occasion, 249. Henry IV. excuses and comforts him, 252. Letters to and from Sully upon this subject, 256. Demands a cardinal's hat for M. de Villars a Marquemon: refused, 258. Signs the treaty of commerce between Spain and France, 338. Advises Henry to purchase the earldom of St. Paul, 361. Endeavours to ruin Sully in the affair of Mestre de-camp, 388. His hatred to this minister, 394. Composes the public instructions given to Sully for the assembly of Châtelleraut, iv. 34. Letters between them during the continuance of this assembly, 65. Other letters between them during the expedition to Sedan, 128. Concludes the treaty with Bouillon: Sully's complaints of him upon this occasion, 132. Henry sends him to do business at Sully's house, 176—184. His sentiments upon the law upon shipwrecks, 197. Opposes Sully in the council upon the offers made by the Dutch, 199. Henry makes use of him to persuade Sully to change his religion, 245. and to accommodate the dissensions among the nobles, 265. His opposition to Sully upon the plots among the protestants, 274. His letters to the protestants assembled at Gergeau, 277. Employed in the truce against Spain and the Dutch, 297. Favours the Spanish policy in opposition to the designs of Henry IV. 325. This prince's diffidence of him, who conceals from him the advices he receives of plots against his person, 330. Disputes betwixt him and Sully, 351. Henry's judgment of the good and bad qualities of this minister, 352. He reproves him for supporting the secret enemies of Sully, 359. Circular letters written by him after the prince of Condé left the kingdom, 376. His services to the prince of Epinoy with the states of Holland, 387. Inspires the queen regent with a policy quite opposite to that of Henry the Great, with regard to the house of Austria, the duke of Savoy, and the other allies of the crown, v. 33. Endeavours to ruin Sully, 37. He is affronted by the duke of Nevers and the nobles, and advises the queen regent to recal Sully from Montrond, 69. Gratuities which he receives

I N D E X.

- receives from her, 77. A great quarrel between him and Sully in full council, upon the affair of Alincourt and the city of Lyons, 81. Remarks upon the house of Neuville, ib.
- Villers-Coterets*. The garrison of Soissons defeated at this place, ii. 38. Sully renders an account of his embassy to London to Henry here, iii. 188.
- Villette*. (La-) Conferences upon religion at this place, i. 325.
- Villers*. A protestant minister: the prince of Orange informs him of the intended treachery at Antwerp, i. 86.
- Vincence*. Valet de chambre to Conchini: his wife observations upon his master, v. 43.
- Vins*. (Hubert de La-Garde de) He predicts the murder of the Guises, i. 157. His party in Provence, 271.
- Vins*. (De). See *Fourbin* (Madame de).
- Vinta*. (Chevalier) Chancellor of Savoy: employed in the affair of the isles, between the king and the duke of Florence, ii. 381.
- Vinti*. An Italian: attendant upon the queen, iii. 11. His plots with Conchini against the king, iv. 322.
- Visor*. (Grand) His esteem for Sully, iv. 393.
- Vitry*. (Lewis de L' Hopital de) Commands the troops of the league at the siege of Rouen, i. 237. Employed in the conversion of Henry IV. 319. Surrenders Meaux to the king, 347. His speech to the duke of Maienne, ibid. He promotes the treaty with Villars, 363, 381. Attends the king to the campaign of Franche-Comte, ii. 56. The sum of money he received from his treaty, 227. He arrests marshal Biron, iii. 21, 302. Services rendered by him to the state, upon the death of Henry the Great, iv. 399. His great grief upon this occasion. The advice he gave Sully. v. 11.
- Vivant*. Deputy of the protestants: gives advice to the king of the plots among the seditious, iv. 43.
- University of Paris*. Its process against the jesuits, i. 399. It opposes the recal of this society, iii. 241.
- Voyer*. (Jacqueline Le). See *Coman*.
- Urbaldini*. Nuncio of the Pope: the secret council held at his house, after the death of Henry IV. against the memory of that prince, and of Sully, v. 38.
- Urban VIII*. This Pope's brief to Sully, and answer, v. 171.
- Urbain*. (Archbishop of) Employed in the dissolution of the marriage of Henry IV. with Margaret of Valois, ii. 183.

I N D E X.

Vroeylzen. Employed in the treaty of commerce betwixt France and Spain, iii. 335.

Ursin. (Virgil) Cousin to Mary of Medicis : attends her into France, ii. 350.

Urssac. Delivers up La-Réole to the catholics, i. 63.

Ussau. Sully favours his duel with Beauvais, i. 75.

Usson. Queen Margaret's residence at this castle, iv. 42.

She leaves it ; and Henry IV. orders it to be demolished, 91.

Uze's. See *Crussol*.

Uzes. (Madame de) Informs Sully of the designs of Catherine of Medicis, i. 131.

W.

WALES. (Prince of) His character, iii. 110. Presents made him by Sully, 185. His fondness for Henry IV. iv. 165. Henry's design of marrying his eldest daughter to him, 326.

Watson. An English priest : conspires against James I. iii. 76.

Westminster. (Palace of) Sully receives here his audience of leave of the king of England, iii. 187.

Whale. A large one taken on the coasts of Holland, ii. 243.

Wilem. See *Blanc (Le-)*.

Wirtemberg. (Duke of) No longer concerned in farming the revenues, ii. 234. Henry's politeness to his ambassador, iii. 352. Sully accused of holding a criminal correspondence with him, 402. Henry IV. protects him, iv. 173.

—— (Ulric, duke of). Francis I. supports him against Charles V.

Wymmes. (Thomas) Governor of Dover : his brutality to Sully, iii. 96.

Y.

YVERNE. Sent into Spain by the count of Auvergne, iii. 298.

Yveteaux (Des). Henry IV. gives him the post of advocate general of Rouen.

Yvetot. Henry IV. at this place, defeats the prince of Parma, i. 253.

Yvetot. (N. d') Succours Sully at the attack of Mirande, i. 57.

Z.

I N D E X.

Z.

ZAMET. (Sebastian) Makes proposals to Henry IV. from the League, i. 262. Of great use in the conversion of Henry IV. 319. ii. 104. Henry recommends the duchess of Beaufort to him, 273. who is taken ill at his house, and dies, 276. Particulars relating to his fortune and family, ib. Henry's affection for him, iii. 87. He employs him to accommodate matters betwixt the count of Soissons and Sully, 209. He often dines at his house. Sends him to Sully in the affair of the post of colonel of the guards, 385. Grants made him by this prince, iv. 161, 181. and debts which he pays him, 212. Informs the king of plots against him, carried on by the queen's servants, 322. Debts discharged, 356. Particulars relating to him and his children, 395. Sully visits the queen regent along with him, v. 72.

Zamet the younger. Advises Henry IV. of the plots in Spain against his person, iv. 322.

Zapata. (Cardinal) Sent from Spain to congratulate the grand duke of Tuscany, iv. 392.

Zeland. This province opposes the suspension of arms between Spain and the Dutch, iv. 206.

Zopirus. iii. 226, 239.

F I N I S.

20 AU 66

